THE ANNUAL

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

No. XV.

SESSION 1908–1909

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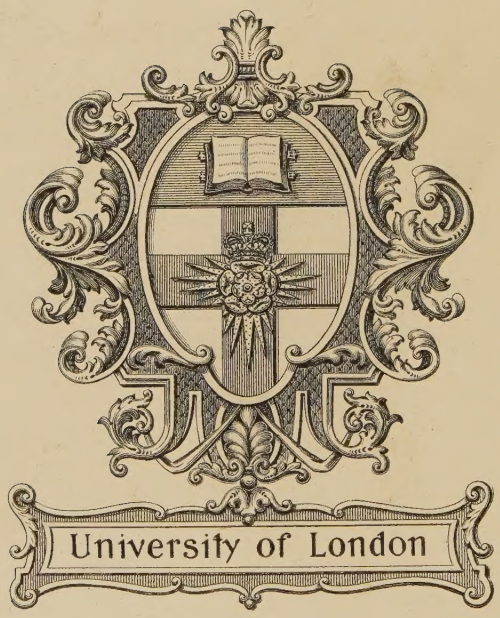

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SPARTA: THE MENELAION FROM THE EAST.

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THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS

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LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1909.

(Plates I—X.)

§ 1.—The Season's Work and Summary of Results.

The work of the School in 1909, the fourth season spent at Sparta, was marked by the completion of the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, upon which the greater part of the resources of the School had been spent for the three preceding years, and by the excavation of the building known as the Menelaion on the east bank of the Eurotas. In all the departments of the work the School has always to acknowledge with cordial thanks the support and help of the Hellenic Government, which was ably represented this year at the excavations by Doctor Rhomaios. Especial thanks are owing to him for his zeal in helping the work and readiness to assist in any difficulty.

The excavation began on March 27th and continued until May 28th. Of the students of the School who were present Messrs. Wace and Thompson undertook the excavation of the Menelaion, Mr. Droop continued his work on the pottery, and Mr. Woodward, who was present for the latter half of the season, completed his search for inscriptions along the late-Roman wall of the Acropolis. Mr. George devoted six weeks to making drawings of the finds and gave the surveying the benefit of his experience. The director was present throughout, except for a short journey with Mr. Droop to Kythera, and, as before, undertook the work at the Orthia sanctuary.

Our foreman was again Gregory Antoniou of Larnaka, and as mender

the same Joannes Katsarakis came to us from Palaikastro. The museum photography was the work of Herr Rohrer, who came from Athens for the purpose.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

The more important results of the work at the Orthia sanctuary and at the Menelaion will be found in the report of the Managing Committee of the School which is printed at the end of the volume, and a general summary is here added of the work of the season with references to the sections of the report below, in which the several subjects are dealt with at length.

The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia and the Menelaion (§ 2, p. 5 and § 6, p. 108).—For a summary of these excavations a reference has already been given to the report at the end of this volume. For two reasons the account of the Menelaion and of the objects found in the course of its excavation occupies the greater part of the space devoted this year to the Sparta report. The first is that this site yielded the majority of the objects found this season, the Orthia site having been already almost exhausted and only the margins of its rich deposits remaining to be explored, and secondly it was resolved to publish everything from the Menelaion in this number of the *Annual,* in order to have this piece of work definitely finished. This publication of the Menelaion must therefore be regarded as final. The report on the Orthia, on the other hand, only gives an account of the excavation itself without any publication of the finds, except a few vases by Mr. Droop (§ 3), and the great mass of objects, both from this and still more from previous seasons, still awaits publication.

Epigraphy (§ 4, p. 40).—The work of clearing the face of the late-Roman wall round the Acropolis in search of inscriptions has now been finished. Mr. Woodward found lying in front of the wall a number of inscribed blocks, which had already been copied by Fourmont, who seems to have pulled them out of the wall and then buried them at its base. It is noteworthy that whilst the accuracy of Fourmont's copies is generally established, his statements as to the provenance of his inscriptions are seldom correct.

The Theatre.—A broad trial-trench cut from the top of the cavea to the orchestra resulted in the discovery that the building had been very much destroyed. The seats had all been removed, and the lower part of the auditorium covered with later houses. The depth near the orchestra is as much as four metres, but the amount of destruction and later building have been so great that an excavation would hardly produce results in any way proportionate to the work involved.

Experimental Excavations.—Besides this trench at the theatre a number of trial-pits were made in different parts of the site. Their positions will be given most conveniently by reference to the numbered and lettered squares of the map of the site of Sparta published in *Annuals* XII and XIII.

To the south of the round building on the Acropolis (Square **K** 14 on the map), where the Hellenistic tombs were found in 1907,[1] more than twenty pits were made in the hope of finding further tombs. Only the much ruined remains of one tomb were found with a few Hellenistic vases of the same shapes as those previously published.

On the saddle to the east of the late-Roman wall of the acropolis (**M** 14) trial-pits revealed a few graves, probably mediaeval. These were built generally of Roman tiles, but part of the covering of one was formed of the lower part of an archaic Spartan grave relief in the same style as the stele from Chrysapha now at Berlin, with the dead man seated on a throne, beneath and behind which is a snake. The inscription Χ]ΙΛΩΝ below the throne gives ground for the supposition that this stele comes from the sanctuary of the hero Chilon mentioned by Pausanias.

Pits inside the wall of the acropolis to the west of these graves revealed Byzantine walls and pottery, and below these some disturbed Greek remains, and in the same way pits sunk in some slight hollows amongst the olive trees in Squares **L** 15 and **M** 15 resulted only in the discovery of Byzantine pottery.

A number of pits were made between the acropolis and the river (**N** 13). A few small terracotta hero-reliefs were found like those from the Heroön on the bank of the river, and an ancient well.[2] This was lined with terracotta cylinders placed one above another, each measuring ·70 m. inside diameter and ·66 m. high. One ring was slightly smaller and had

[1] Published in *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 155 *sqq.*
[2] For illustrations of these reliefs see *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 289, 290.

telescoped into its neighbour, and the depth of the well measured to the top of the seventh was 3·80 m. At this point water began to appear and digging had to be abandoned.

The Heroön by the bank of the river, at which an extensive trial excavation with very promising results had been made in 1906,[1] was further examined, but was found to have been too much destroyed for any conclusions to be possible as to its structure, nor did the earth contain anything except a few sherds.

Further trial-pits near the site of the Chalkioikos temple also proved fruitless.

The general result of all the numerous soundings which have now been made in this and previous years, over the greater part of the acropolis and the regions to the south and east of it, and on the strip of land by the river, has been to shew that the remains of the ancient Greek period have been so much disturbed and destroyed by subsequent habitation that the prospect of further discoveries on the actual site of the city is not very great. For the guidance of future workers, however, it has seemed best to publish these details of our search.

R. M. DAWKINS.

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 288–294.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1909.

§ 2.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

(Plates I, II.)

The campaign of 1909 at Sparta was marked by the conclusion of the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, and the site may now be regarded as definitely exhausted. This report gives an account of the results of this last season with a General Plan of the excavation (Pl. I). A full resumptive account of the whole work from its beginning in 1906, with final plans and a summary of results is in preparation; the present account will, in the main, be confined to the new results gained this year, and will thus be parallel to the three yearly reports already published in the previous volumes of this *Annual.*

The work was begun on March 27th, and continued for exactly two months. At first between twenty and thirty men were employed; in the middle of the season this number was raised to nearly forty, but towards the end was allowed to drop to eight or ten. The Director, assisted by students of the school, was in charge throughout, and undertook the surveying. He is also responsible for the plan and drawings illustrating this report.

The results of the year's work have been two:—the discovery of considerable stretches of the walls which bounded the sacred enclosure at different periods, with the clearing of the large drain discovered in the first season, and secondly, the further examination of the central part of the area, leading to fresh discoveries as to the history of the sanctuary during

the earlier periods of the cult. Although there was no lack of important objects, no deposits of the richness of those found in the preceding years were discovered, and excepting in the region west of the temple, the earth was often quite empty. In no case was anything found outside the outermost wall of the enclosure, and generally, not even so far as this from the centre of the site, and it is thus quite clear that, unless there should be some quite unexpected *cache*, nothing would be gained by any extension of the area of the excavation. The negative results of the trial pits made in the regions marked in the plan as unexcavated support the same conclusion.

The total area excavated may be seen from the plan. It amounts to some 3,000 square metres, and the work has everywhere, except of course below structural remains, been carried down to the level of the virgin soil, a tough red clay.

The Walls of the Hieron.

It will be most convenient to give the results of the season's work, not in the order in which they were actually attained, but in their relation to the chronology of the site, beginning with the earliest period to which the remains carry us. The evidence as to this centres round the great altar and the region immediately to the west of it, where the deposits reach their deepest level. Here was the centre and lowest part of the original natural hollow in which the sanctuary lay, and here, with the greatest thickness of the deposit of Geometric pottery, the earliest remains are naturally to be found.

This further examination of the lower strata in the arena has led to an important modification of our earlier conclusions. The plan now published (Pl. I) shews to the west and south of the temples a wall, marked as 'First Enclosure Wall,' which lies at the edge of the area of cobble pavement in this region.[1] This wall was traced for some distance under the foundation of the Roman theatre to the south of the temple, but gradually disappeared. A fruitless attempt was made to discover its further course by sinking a deep pit outside the curve of the Roman foundation near Pier IV, the point at which it would have emerged if it had continued in a straight line, but no trace of it was found, and the position of the other piece of 'First Enclosure Wall' to the east of the altar makes it almost

[1] On the plan more or less closely set irregularly circular markings indicate the extent and relative preservation of the cobble pavement.

certain that it soon left the straight line and turned towards the east. In the other direction it runs from under the Roman foundation to the north-west, passing close behind the south-west angle of the primitive temple and then under the corner of the later temple, after which it takes a curve to the north. Its further course has entirely vanished. It is built of small undressed stones, which from their rounded form, clearly were brought from the bed of the Eurotas near by. For the most part only the lowest course is preserved, and nowhere more than two courses. As it so clearly forms the limit of the area of the cobble pavement, it is certain that in this wall we must recognize the boundary wall of the *hieron* at the period to which the pavement belongs. The outer face of this wall was in part discovered in the campaign of 1908, but its inner face was not then brought to light, and as it is so much destroyed as hardly to rise above the level of the pavement, it passed as no more than the neatly made edge of this latter, and is marked as such in the plan then published.[1] It was only recognized as a wall this year by the careful cleaning of the stones in question with a knife. The curved part of this wall behind the later temple and the piece of cobble pavement inside it appear in the photograph in Fig. 1.

A similar careful cleaning of the remains of the cobble pavement in the space immediately to the east of the great archaic altar shewed that here also, the pavement was edged by a wall. As with the wall just described, only the foundation was preserved, and the top is consequently no higher than the pavement at whose edge it stands. On the plan it also is marked as 'First Enclosure Wall.' The part preserved stretches from a point underneath Ray IX of the Roman theatre to where it reaches the line of the bank of the river, where its further course has been destroyed by erosion. To have followed it further underneath the Roman foundation would have involved destroying more of this than seemed worth while, especially as the earth was entirely empty. An attempt to pick it up again outside the edge of the foundation of the theatre was fruitless; any remains in this region were probably destroyed in the making of the great drain. The part uncovered is in length nearly thirty-two metres. In the middle it is disjointed and the direction changes a little, but the two parts evidently belong to the same wall.

The position of this wall at the edge of the pavement and its identical construction of small undressed rounded stones put it into connexion with

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. I.

the wall already described to the east of the temple, and in both we must see the remains of the enclosure wall of the *hieron* at the time when the pavement was laid down. In the plan already published of the arena shewing the distribution of the remains of the cobble pavement, what appears as the extreme east edge of the pavement is in fact the outer face of this wall, destroyed, like that behind the temple, down to the level of the adjacent pavement.[1]

FIG. 1.—THE WEST WALL OF THE LATER TEMPLE, WITH PARTS OF THE "FIRST ENCLOSURE WALL" AND "RETAINING WALL," LOOKING SOUTH.

This cobble pavement has in previous reports been associated in date with the great archaic altar and the primitive temple. The fresh evidence, however, brought to light by this year's work makes it certain that it and

[1] Published in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 66, Fig. 12. The plan of the excavation published in *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. I marks the edge of the pavement too far to the east. It was then regarded as contemporaneous with the great altar, and as the votive offerings belonging to this were found as far as this line, it was thought that the pavement must also originally have reached so far. It will be noted that the drawing of the distribution of the cobble pavement (*B.S.A.* xiii, p. 66) shews only a few scattered stones and no continuous pavement to the east of the line where this 'First Enclosure Wall' has now been found to form its limit.

its bounding walls are in fact earlier. One observation of importance for this point resulted from the examination of the ground below the great altar. For this purpose a trench was carefully made along the central line of the altar from end to end, and carried down to the level of the virgin soil.[1] The outer facing of the altar was in no case disturbed, and it was thus possible, after the trench had served its purpose, to put back the same material and leave no trace of the operation. The interior of the altar proved to consist of a packing of round undressed river stones and earth. Immediately below the lowest of these stones was a stratum of earth about ten centimetres thick, filled with remains blackened by fire and sherds of Geometric pottery. When this earth was washed in a sieve small fragments of charred bone also appeared, proving that it consisted of the debris of burned sacrifices.

Below this again, was the cobble pavement. A section taken through the altar at right angles along the line *G-H* in the plan shewing these results is given in Pl. II. It will be noted that the outer facing of the altar goes deeper than the central part and reaches down to the level of the pavement. It was this fact which prevented the intermediate stratum of debris from being observed when the altar was first uncovered but not thoroughly examined internally.

The discovery of this intermediate stratum effectually disposed of the theory that the altar dates from the same time as the pavement, although in certain places they seemed to abut upon one another. It was this appearance and the observation that the outer facing of the altar does in fact reach down to the level of the pavement which led us to assign them to the same date. So far, however, from the altar and the pavement being contemporary, we now know that before the former was erected sufficient time elapsed to allow of the accumulation of ten centimetres of sacrificial debris on the surface of the pavement.

The later date of the altar is proved also by the fact that the debris of votive offerings associated with it extended to the east over the top of the early enclosure wall as far as the line of the wall marked in the plan as 'Later Enclosure Wall.' When the altar was built therefore the earlier wall had already fallen down or been removed, and this debris accumulated over its foundation in the same way as over the pavement to which it had served

[1] A small pit was made through the altar when it was first excavated in 1906, but was not large enough for a final examination.

as the boundary. This early wall would also have been inconveniently or even impossibly close to the altar, if both had been standing at the same time.

The same argument applies to the 'First Enclosure Wall' west and south of the two temples. The area occupied by the deposit of votive offerings belonging to the primitive temple was in no way limited by this wall, but on the contrary, extended well beyond it to the west and at least as far as the edge of the sand. Also, the inner face of this wall would have actually touched the angle of the primitive temple if they had been standing at the same time, and it is not likely that the temple did not stand free from the *hieron* wall. In the area occupied by the primitive temple no traces of the cobble pavement were found, so that its later date cannot be established by direct stratigraphical evidence as in the case of the altar, but the other evidence is sufficient to prove the point.

That the primitive temple and the great altar are contemporary cannot be doubted, especially as the character and chronological range of the votive offerings found round both are identical. This correspondence appears plainly from the levels of the strata of archaic deposit in the already published drawing of the east-to-west section across the arena.[1]

From these observations it therefore results that before the great altar and primitive temple were built, the *hieron* was already roughly paved with cobble-stones and enclosed by walls.

To this period must be assigned the structure, which there is now more reason than ever for supposing to have been an altar, shewn in the plan as projecting from the west side of the great altar, and marked 'Earliest Altar.' The deposits immediately above the pavement and, naturally, those between the pavement and the foundation of the great altar, will belong to the period when this earliest altar was in use. It is, however, impossible to distinguish them in style from the later Geometric pottery and bronzes. No traces of any temple dating from this period have been found and the layer of stones bounded by a straight face, which now alone remains of this oldest altar, is no more than its foundation course, and occupies the same level as the surrounding cobble pavement. No further traces of the structure were revealed by the exploration of the ground below the great altar.

The practice of the cult can, however, now be traced to a still earlier

[1] This is the section on the line *C–D*, in *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. III.

period. Sherds of Geometric pottery in blackened earth, which washing proved to contain pieces of burned bone, are found also to a depth of at least half a metre below the surface of the cobble pavement. It is interesting to note that this deposit lies distinctly to the west of that above the pavement, where the great altar is naturally the centre of accumulation. The mass below the pavement is nearer the centre of the original natural hollow, and occupies exactly the space where the level of the virgin soil is lowest, and is therefore at the very centre of the *hieron*, at the ends of which the temple and altar were afterwards built. The position of these deposits of sacrificial debris is shewn in plan in Fig. 2, and in section in Pl. II.

No trace of either altar or temple has survived from this earliest period, but about four metres west of the south end of the altar a short piece of wall was found underneath the pavement. It is shewn on the General Plan (Pl. I) and in Fig. 2. The patch of pavement above it is, as the plan indicates, made of much smaller stones than that of the rest of *hieron*, and is possibly not of quite the same date. As to the purpose of this fragment of wall which is broken off at both ends, there is no evidence.

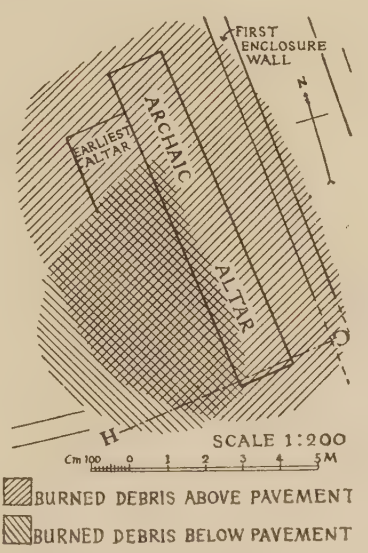

FIG. 2.—PLAN SHEWING THE POSITION OF BURNED DEBRIS ABOVE AND BELOW THE COBBLE PAVEMENT.

Of the date of these earliest stages of the cult there is no fresh evidence beyond that already afforded by Mr. Droop's study of the pottery.[1] The primitive temple and the great altar had already been built and had been in use some time before the appearance of the Laconian I style of pottery by the side of the Geometric, at probably the beginning of the seventh century, and the earliest remains of the cult may be put down to the tenth century B.C. Between this and some time well before 700 B.C. must be put the two successive transformations of the *hieron*, the first by the laying down of the cobble pavement, the building of the first enclosure walls and the earliest altar, and the second by the con-

[1] In *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 46.

struction of the great altar and the primitive temple, which brought the sanctuary into the condition in which it remained until the end of the seventh century, when all these early structures were covered by the layer of sand and the later temple was built.

The growth of the cult is reflected by the fact that at each of these stages the area of the *hieron* increases, first from an undefined but probably small piece of ground centering round the patch of black debris below the pavement to the paved area with its walls, which may be very roughly estimated at 1500 square metres, and then from this to the still greater space over which the deposit of archaic votive offerings was spread. For this third period, which is that of the primitive temple and the great altar, we have unfortunately no remains of the walls of the *hieron*, but the 'Later Enclosure Wall,' marked in the plan to the east of the altar, although itself later, preserves the limit of the *hieron* in this direction, for no archaic objects were found beyond it, and on the south, west, and north of the temples, to judge from the extent of the deposits of votive offerings, it hardly passed beyond the limits of the pile of sand, which was brought in at the end of this period when the later temple was built. It is of course always possible that the *hieron* may have been larger than the space occupied by the debris of votive offerings, but at this period it did not much exceed it, as it can hardly have been larger than the *hieron* of the succeeding period of the later temple, the greater part of the walls of which, marked in the plan as 'Later Enclosure Wall,' have now been identified.

To this period of the primitive temple and great altar, ending at about 600 B.C., belong the deposits of votive offerings, which had proved so rich in previous years. This season only the outer fringe of this deposit, to the south of the temple, remained to be dug, and the finds, although of the same kind as before, were scanty in number, and beyond the line marked in the plan 'Limit of Sand' hardly anything was found, the earth being generally quite empty. Some of the more important objects are mentioned at the end of this paper.

The discovery of these 'Later Enclosure' walls, the greater part of which was a result of the work of this last season, brings us to the period when the later temple was built at the beginning of the sixth century, on an artificially made platform formed by the top of a heap of sand and gravel, the limits of which, as far as they could be traced, have been marked on the plan. The area covered by the sand forms a roughly T-shaped figure, with the temple

standing on the leg of the T and the altar on its cross-bar. The platform was in fact made no larger than was necessary to raise the centre of the site, and to accommodate on either side of it the temple and the altar, the axes of which lay approximately at right angles to one another. The closeness of the limit of the sand to the back wall of the temple shews that the slope of its edge must have been, in this part, comparatively steep. To support this and prevent slipping, a retaining wall was built. This appears on the plan skirting round in an angular course, at a distance of about four to five metres behind the temple. Being intended only as a support for the slope of the sand, it is faced only on the outer side. It is built of the round undressed stones from the river, of which so many of the early walls at this site were made. A piece of it shews on the right of the photograph reproduced in Fig. 1, and a shorter piece in front. The intermediate part has been destroyed and is marked on the plan by a dotted line. The two ends of this wall were found in 1908, and appear on the plan then published,[1] but it was only this year that its purpose was discovered by further excavation and careful cleaning.

To the west of this retaining wall the plan shews a long stretch marked as 'Later Enclosure Wall.' The deposits of votive offerings from the period after the construction of the later temple, marked by Laconian III and IV pottery, extend behind the temple as far as this wall, which may be identified with the enclosure wall of the *hieron* at this time, that is from the beginning of the sixth century. That it continued to be the limit of the *hieron* is made likely by the fact that nothing was found in the soil outside it, trial pits in this region being entirely fruitless. Hardly more than the two lowest courses of the wall have been preserved. It is almost exactly one metre thick, and built of large roughly shaped blocks of sandstone. Its contemporaneity with the retaining wall is further indicated by the exactly parallel direction of the parts behind the temple, a parallelism which is followed even in a slight bend of both walls, immediately to the north of the place where they are broken away, to the west of the temple. Exactly opposite to this broken part the back wall of the temple is also much destroyed, and in the centre no more than the two lowest courses have been preserved, as may be seen in the photograph reproduced in Fig. 1. All three of these gaps are probably to be connected with the

[1] In *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. I, to the north and south of the west end of the temple, at the extreme edge of the excavated area.

roughly built wall, which was found inside the temple and appears on the plan marked 'Modern Structure.' It may possibly have been a sheepfold or something of the sort, and in any case dates from a time when the whole sanctuary was deserted.

Another piece of this enclosure wall may be recognized in the wall which crosses the present course of the mill-stream to the south of the Roman building. It was necessary to destroy a part of this wall when the new channel was made. A photograph of this section, taken from the inside, has been published in an earlier report.[1] Immediately inside this wall is a two-roomed structure which, from the sherds found in it, would seem to date from the fourth or possibly the fifth century.[2] West of this building is a detached piece of mortared wall of the Roman period. Outside this enclosure wall the earth contained no objects whatever, but below the foundations of the two-roomed structure some few Laconian sherds and lead figurines were found which evidently belong to the sanctuary.

The two pieces of wall to the east of the altar, marked in the plan 'Later Enclosure Wall,' should be mentioned in this connexion. Their foundations rest upon the edge of the sand, whilst the other walls, as the plan shews, lie well outside it. If therefore they are part of the *hieron* wall of this period, it was here less extensive than the layer of sand. The method of building of the southern part, which is composed of limestone slabs, also differs from that of the rest of the wall of the *hieron*. That of the northern piece, however, is exactly the same, and it is on the whole most probable, especially as the houses to the east do not seem in place in the *hieron*, that this wall was a part of the enceinte at the period in question. It will, therefore, here have coincided with the older limit in the archaic period. The section on the line *G-H* in the plan (Pl. II) shews the relation of this wall, marked as 'wall bounding Archaic Hieron,' to the edge of the sand, and its structure has been described in a previous report.[3] If we complete the circuit indicated by these three sections of wall, we

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, p. 319.

[2] The walls at the edge of the Roman foundation near Piers IX and X probably belong to another such building partly destroyed when the theatre was constructed.

[3] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 8. The section on the line *G-H* now given is an amplified version of the drawing published in *B.S.A.* xiv, Pl. II, in which also the Roman altar was put too far to the east. A very slight alteration in the direction of the line along which the section is taken accounts for the difference in the appearance of the Roman foundation (Ray XV) in the two drawings.

shall find that the *hieron* at this period was an irregularly shaped piece of ground with a superficial area of about 2,500 square metres.

The Drain.

The plan published in 1906[1] shews, about midway between the edge of the Roman theatre and the city wall, a piece of a drain or water-channel running from west to east. This has now been fully cleared, and proves to have passed beneath the wall of the city and then debouched outside it on the bank of the Eurotas. Its general course, marked 'Drain' on the plan, runs from west to east and is interrupted in the middle by the curve of the foundation of the Roman theatre. Its date can be fixed with some closeness. It is in the first place, evidently earlier than the Roman theatre, by the foundation of which it has been partially destroyed. There is, however, other evidence which dates it much more closely. Thus, along the northern side of the section of the drain to the south of the temple, several patches of deposit were found containing lead figurines and pottery. This latter belonged to the Laconian V and VI styles and thus to the fifth and early fourth century,[2] and Mr. Wace tells me that the evidence of the lead figurines supports this date. The levels between which these deposits were found were in all cases noted. They are almost uniform, and the upper level is about ·26 m. lower than the crown of the drain, as marked by the top of the solitary roofing-slab preserved *in situ* in this section. Now the level of the ground when the drain was made must have been at least up to its covering-slabs, and this the deposits in question shew was not yet the case in the middle of the fourth century, for the deposits, according to Mr. Droop's analysis of the pottery, go no later than about 350 B.C. The drain must therefore be somewhat later than this, to allow for the further rise of ·26 m., and a date after 350 B.C. and probably hardly before 300 B.C. may therefore be taken as a *terminus post quem.* A *terminus ante quem* may be reached by an examination of the part of the drain which passes through the city wall. This is of different masonry from the rest; the blocks are not only carefully squared and fitted, but also smoothly faced. It is the only part which is paved with stone slabs, and the direction of this exceptionally constructed section also slightly changes, as is shewn on the plan, where the paving-slabs are also sketched in to scale. The inference to

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. VIII.

[2] See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 47.

be drawn is that the drain is earlier than the city wall, and that where the line of this latter had to be carried across it, the piece of the drain involved was reconstructed. The date assigned to the city wall is the latter half of the third century, and the drain must therefore have been built before this date.[1] The date *post quem* being hardly before 300 B.C., it is a fairly safe conclusion that the drain was made some time between this date and 250 B.C., and that it is thus a work of the first half of the third century.

FIG. 3.—THE WESTERN PART OF THE DRAIN TO THE SOUTH OF THE TEMPLE, LOOKING EAST. BEYOND THE DRAIN IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE ROMAN THEATRE.

The drain is about a metre wide and the depth from the bottom to the under surface of the covering-slabs is about 2·20 m. or, where it passes beneath the city wall, 1·57 m.[2] Except for this small reconstructed piece there is no trace of its ever having been paved. The walls are at least a metre thick, well faced inside, but naturally somewhat irregular on the outer side. The blocks are of very various sizes, and it is noticeable that

[1] For the discussion of the date of the city wall see *B.S.A.* xii, p. 287.

[2] The measurements, taken where the drain is well preserved, vary from 2·13 m. to 2·24 m.

the southern wall of the western section, that is to say the part to the south of the temple, is very much better built than the rest, with well squared blocks laid in regular courses. These are shewn in Fig. 3. The upper course of this piece of wall consists of large blocks forming the entire thickness of the wall, with a sunk bed cut on the inner half of their upper surface to receive the ends of the roofing-slabs. This sinking appears in the photograph in Fig. 3, and is marked by a line on the plan. Only one of the roofing-slabs was found *in situ* in this part, but the rough blocks laid behind them on the top of the wall are for the most part preserved, and have been sketched stone by stone on the plan. At each end of the roofing-slab the walls of the drain are surmounted by pieces of later mortared walls, probably of the Roman period. These are distinguished on the plan from the hatched walls of the drain by being left white. They can also be made out on the photograph (Fig. 3).

In two places the roof of the drain has been well preserved ; where it issues from the curve of the Roman foundation between Piers VII and VIII, and at a point to the east between this and the city wall.[1] The massive blocks which here form the roof are shewn in Fig. 4. In neither of these places is there any trace of a sunk bed for the end of these slabs.

The irregular course of this drain is curious and unexplained. The part with the well preserved roof shewn in Fig. 4 is especially tortuous and for no apparent reason, and the part now destroyed by the Roman foundation must have had at least two slight changes of direction. Its object is on the other hand obvious. It was evidently that the water coming down from the acropolis should be collected and carried directly to the river, instead of being allowed to spread over the low ground upon which the sanctuary stood.

At the western limit of the excavation it made a double curve, beyond which it continued in a slightly more southerly direction. Only a small part is preserved beyond the curve, and an attempt to find its further course led to no result. The curved part was only partly excavated, because to carry the work further would have involved the sacrifice of a fine tree.

[1] Between this point and the channel of the mill-stream is a piece of Roman wall. It belonged to a house, traces of the flooring and plaster of which were found when the channel was cut in 1906.

A trial pit made in 1906, where the guardian's house now stands, revealed traces of the drain, but, as the plan shews, from shortly after the point where it leaves the Roman foundation down to the eastern section near the city wall, it has been very much ruined and in places no more is preserved than an irregular line of stones. This destruction and especially

FIG. 4.—THE ROOFED PART OF THE DRAIN NEAR THE CITY WALL, LOOKING EAST.

the disappearance of so many of the roofing-slabs may be put down to the builders of the Roman theatre having used it as a quarry. Some large sandstone blocks, which were found lying on the surface of the Roman foundation may be recognized by their material and dimensions as having been originally roofing-slabs. They were all found in the region between

Piers VI and X, that is to say near the point where the Roman foundation came into contact with the drain.

The Finds.

It has seemed convenient not to interrupt this account of the *hieron* and its structures by any allusion to the objects found in the course of the work, but before concluding it will be well to mention the more important of these.

Below the cobble pavement in the centre of the arena a small ivory model of a ship's rudder was found. Another specimen was recovered in 1906 in a small sounding which was made through the middle of the great altar. It was just above the level of the pavement, and these are therefore amongst the very earliest ivories found.

In a deposit containing Geometric pottery, above the pavement behind the temple, an ivory fibula-plaque was found, in the same archaic style as the example with the winged Orthia grasping two water-birds, which has already been published.[1] The plaque now found represents a man and a woman standing facing one another and each grasping a tall staff at the top of which is a floral ornament. The whole is surrounded by a guilloche border. It may be dated to early in the eighth century.

Of similar date and style is another fibula-plaque representing the winged goddess facing to the right, and holding in one hand a bird by the neck and in the other a lion by the hind legs.

In the region to the south of the temple a third of these plaques was found, again representing the winged Orthia. The left arm is missing, but in her right hand she grasps the usual bird, and the space below the arm is filled by a snake. Not much was found with this plaque by which to date it, but it is clearly slightly later than the other two examples.[2]

In a deposit to the north of the later temple dating to shortly after its construction, that is to the beginning of the sixth century, was found a small gable-shaped relief in soft limestone, of two couchant lions facing one another heraldically. A similar but more finished relief was found in 1906 in the layer of sand.[3] These carvings in soft stone have only been found either

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 78, Fig. 17, *b.*

[2] The second and third of these three have been published by Mr. Thompson, *J.H.S.* xxix, pp. 287 and 288.

[3] Published in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 60, Fig. 8.

in or immediately above or below this layer, and they therefore all date to not long before or after 600 B.C. The discovery of two of these reliefs with lions makes it likely that the design had some significance, and it is important to bring them into connexion with the fragment of a sculptured lion in poros-stone, which was found in 1906 in front of the temple, in such a position as to suggest that it formed a part of the original pedimental sculpture. It is difficult to form an opinion, from a fragment of neck and mane, of the space that would be needed for such a pair of lions, but the scale of the fragment in no way prevents us from supposing that it comes from such a group, of a size to fill the required space satisfactorily. Since therefore these two reliefs are of the shape of a pediment, date from about the time of the building of the temple, and represent the same subject as was sculptured on its pediment, it seems that we should recognize in them small copies of the group which adorned the front pediment of the Doric temple built at the beginning of the sixth century to take the place of the primitive temple. The colours on the poros fragment found in 1906 shew that the original group was brightly coloured.[1]

To the same date belongs a small relief, in the same material, of two men standing facing one another, one of whom holds a long staff. In design this relief, although it is of a later period, bears a striking resemblance to some of the ivory plaques.

By the side of these more important finds, fresh examples were found of most of the classes of objects now familiar from previous campaigns. Thus great numbers of lead figurines were found, especially in the sixth-century deposit behind and to the north-west of the temple, and ivory sheep, small objects in bone, terracotta figurines and masks were not lacking, though in nothing like the numbers found when the centre of the sanctuary was being excavated. The deposits belonging to the primitive temple were almost limited to the region south of the temples near the edge of the sand, as marked on the plan, whilst the richest strata from the sixth century came from the space between the temple and the wall of the *hieron* to the west and north of it. The examination of the earliest deposits by the great altar did not lead to the discovery of any fresh class of object. It was noticed here that amber was especially frequent in the earliest levels in association with Geometric pottery and

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 60.

such small bronzes as have been already published in a previous report by Mr. Droop.[1]

The Sanctuary of Eileithyia.

At the end of the report on the Orthia sanctuary published last year a hope was expressed that before the excavation was concluded we might find some remains of the shrine of Eileithyia, which, we know from Pausanias, was near that of Orthia. Although as far as the discovery of any structural remains is concerned this hope has not been fulfilled, a further piece of evidence as to the proximity of the cult of Eileithyia has been recognized. This is the identification of a figurine as one of that class of terracotta groups, which represent a mother and child assisted by two birth-daemons. The figurine has been published by Mr. Farrell with a photograph.[2] It was found in 1907 amongst the debris of archaic votive offerings belonging to the period of the primitive temple, and belongs to the seventh or possibly to the eighth century. It is a group of four human figures, of which two stand face to face embracing one another, whilst the other two stand on a lower level and support them from behind. A comparison of this group with certain figures of a mother and child supported by two small figures before and behind, or of a pregnant woman so supported, leaves no doubt that we must see in the two embracing figures a mother and newly born child, and in the two lower figures a pair of birth-daemons. A similar group, without, however, the child, from Lapithos in Cyprus in now in the British Museum, and I have seen a number of examples in Cyprus of the same provenance.[3] This example from Sparta, though its meaning is quite plain when it is compared with the Cypriote specimens, would hardly be recognized without their aid, as, owing either to the small scale or to the clumsiness of the execution, the child and the mother are made both of the same size.

The presence of this figurine and the tiles stamped with the name Eileithyia, which have been found on the site, almost suggest that the two goddesses Orthia and Eileithyia may have shared the same *hieron*, and that the *οὐ πόρρω* of Pausanias is not be taken too literally. Their shrines must in any case have been very close to one another.

The association of these two goddesses was found, so Pausanias tells

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 109–117.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 53, Fig. 2, *l.*

[3] *B.M. Cat. of Terracottas*, A. 133, p. 23, and Pl. III.

us, at another Spartan sanctuary, where there was a triple cult of Eileithyia, Artemis Hegemone, and Apollo Karneios.[1] This information and the knowledge that Eileithyia was so near a neighbour to Orthia make it probable that the terracotta published in the last report representing two female figures and one male is to be taken as a group of the three deities, Orthia, Eileithyia, and Apollo, and this interpretation may be extended to some ivory plaques with groups of two women, or of a man accompanied by either one or two female figures.[2]

R. M. DAWKINS.

[1] Paus. iii, 14, 6.

[2] For the plaque see *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 66, Fig. 7, *c*. None of these ivories have yet been published.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1909.

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§ 3.—The Pottery.

(Plates III, IV.)

Not only were more good vases produced by the further excavation of the sanctuary of Orthia in 1909, but much has also been done since the

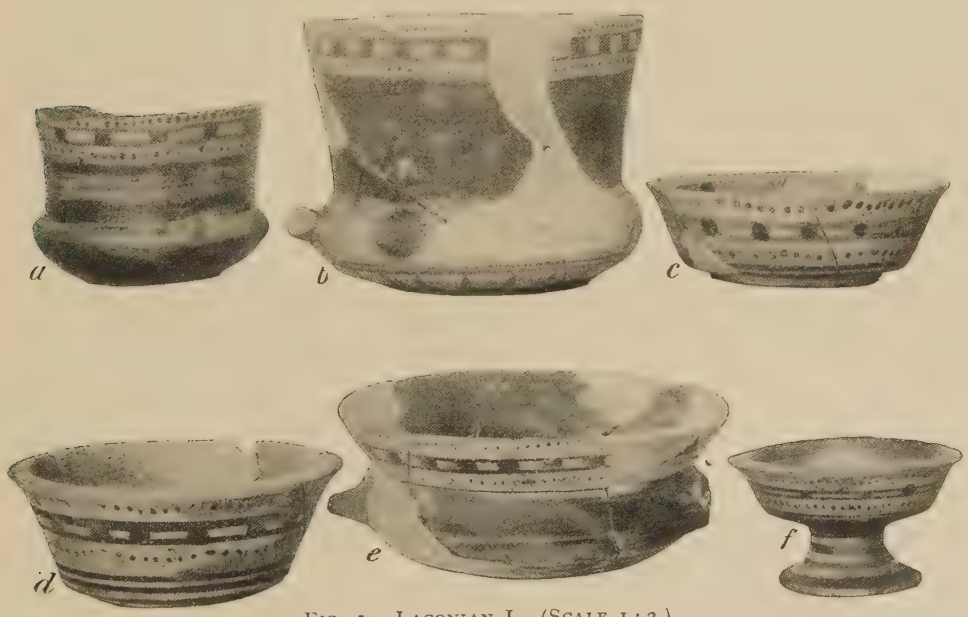

Fig. 1.—Laconian I. (Scale 1 : 2.)

last report was written, in the matter of fitting together, restoring, and photographing those already found, so that it is now possible to proceed

with a fuller publication of the Laconian style than could be made a year ago.

The early type of lakaina with straight sides, is seen in Fig. 1, *a* and *b*,[1] and a further interest is given to these Laconian I vases by the bowl *e*, which needs only the addition of a low stem to be indistinguishable from the

FIG. 2.—LACONIAN II. (SCALE 1 : 4.)

early form of kylix that came into vogue at the end of the next period, while the small cup *f* shows on its stem the very decoration that was adopted for the early kylix.[2]

[1] *b* (unrestored) was published *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 32, Fig. 2, *d*.
[2] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 45, Fig. 8, *c*, *d*.

FIG. 3.—LACONIAN II. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

The fragments of the stand for a large vase shewn in Fig. 2 were too much scattered for it to be possible to give it a closer date than the seventh century; the style, however, and especially the twist (cf. p. 153 Fig. 16, *w*) and the tongues, indicate the latter part of the century. The spirals are unusual, but the rather complicated key design on the foot can be paralleled in the Sub-Geometric ware.

In Fig. 3 are mustered most of the sherds of Laconian II found at the sanctuary of Orthia. It is at this period that the Gorgoneion makes its first appearance on Spartan vases:[1] that shown at *d* is in relief on the side of a vessel of uncertain shape, a technique paralleled by the sherd shewn at *e*[2] and which was probably imitated from *repoussé* metal work. The three sherds *f*, *f*, *f* are in such bad condition that the photograph is barely intelligible, but they are particularly interesting, as the dish or plate of which they formed part embodied distinct phases of the Laconian style. Here the reserved and the incised technique are found not merely on the same vase but in the same scene, for there is no boundary between the incised birds' tails and the outlined heads. On this side, too, the slip is particularly thick and flaky, a characteristic of Laconian II, but when turned over the vase proves to be one of the rare exceptions that, at this date, partially dispense with slip. The position, however, in which they were found, combined with the style of their painted decoration, leaves no doubt that this vase must be dated to the end of the seventh century. The heads, the hair of which (dressed in, presumably, three tails) should be noted, are a puzzle, for it is equally difficult to give them a meaning and to conceive of them as purely decorative.

As for the fragments shown at *g*, *g*, *g*, I am convinced that they are Laconian, though by some accident their surface has become hard and almost grey, but I am at a loss to say of what object they formed part. It was not a vase, but seems perhaps to have been a kind of box. Parts, however, are curved, and other parts are flat and have the appearance of portions of a tympanum. Both the patterns and the metope-like rows of lions run perpendicularly and horizontally at right angles.

Part of a kylix with a tree and bird is seen at *o*, while the fragment of an oinochoe (*r*) shews the early form of pomegranate with one dash only above and below.

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 33, Fig. 3, *b*.

[2] Already published *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 131, Fig. 8, *c*.

FIG. 4.—HANDLES OF OINOCHOAI. LACONIAN III, IV, V. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

The lakaina shewn in Plates III, IV, if it were complete, would certainly be the finest vase that the Spartan excavations have produced. Its height is ·182 m. and its diameter, in its restored state, varies from ·215 m. to ·223 m. 1908 produced the greater part, but portions were found each year,[1] and it was not until the last metre of the deposit in which it could be found was dug that we lost the hope of finding yet more. Found below the sand it was clearly one of the last vases to be dedicated in the older temple, and the widely scattered position of the remains was probably caused by the work of building the new temple, on both sides of and within which they lay. The style bears this out, for the vase occupies a place of its own in the Laconian series. The absolute fact that it was destroyed with the destruction of the earlier temple leads us for convenience' sake to class it with the second period, but that it is later than the mass of ware we call Laconian II is shewn by the palmette and the lotus pattern, of which this is positively the first appearance, though in the case of the former the honour is shared by another sherd found in the same surroundings. That, again, it is earlier than any piece that we class with Laconian III is shewn by the whole look of the vase and of its fabric, but it is harder, when backed only by a photograph and by drawings however good, to make this clear. The only detail on the vase that is distinctive of Laconian II and has not yet been found on a vase of Laconian III is the design of black, purple, and slip chequers, but I would lay stress on the type of Gorgoneion compared with those known to be Laconian II (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 33, Fig. 3, *b*), and Laconian III (Fig. 6, *u*); on the very elaborate and ample character of the lotus pattern (the flower black with purple cross-bar and side petals, the bud purple with black cross-bar), as we know that as time went on this pattern became more slender and exiguous; on the elaborate and unincised character of the palmette, which I regard as early as compared with the incised variety (*a priori* this is probable considering the nature of Laconian II, and in fact I know of only one example of it on a late vase, that in Athens belonging to Mme. Andromache Mela, which I think is an early example of Laconian IV); and on the fact that over a great part of this vase the purple paint is applied straight to the slip, and is throughout very thick, flaky, and freshly coloured. Moreover the vase is completely covered with

[1] A part was actually published two years ago *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 131, Fig. 8, *a*, *a*.

slip. The position can, I think, be summed up by saying that it is probable this is the earliest vase that would have been recognized four years ago as certainly belonging to the style known as Cyrenaic.

The black pigment has, over a large portion of the vase, turned a red-brown especially on the inside, which, except for the tongues on the lip, it covers completely.

The techique of the sphinxes (only part of the wing of the second has been recovered) that filled the space over one handle has already been discussed.[1] The battle-scene speaks for itself, but the other is so fragmentary that no discussion of it can be profitable. Only a small part of the base

FIG. 5.—LACONIAN II. (SCALE 3 : 4.)

is extant, but this shews a band of hair sufficient to make it clear that the Gorgoneion was already in the place that it made its own throughout the following periods (Fig. 8, *u*, Fig. 11, 3 and *cc*, Fig. 13, *dd*).

It is very clear that the handles, very splendid examples of a practice that is common in Laconian III, especially on oinochoai,[2] are imitated from metal work. Fig. 4 shews a selection of handles belonging to clay vases, side by side with four similar bronze handles (*c*, *d*, *h*, *i*), of which *h*, clearly from a small lakaina, is a good parallel to this case. No doubt there was here a second head under the outstretched foot of the running figure, but it is missing in each case, and so unfortunately, are the arms of these figures,

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 132.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 37.

where the broken surface was probably too small to admit also of wings, although the temptation was strong to restore them.

Exactly parallel in date with this lakaina is the small cup shewn in Fig. 5. Although found below the sand it might be classed with Laconian III but for two things, the cross-pattern on its base (p. 153, Fig. 16,*y*; *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 32, Fig. 2,*d*), which is not found after Laconian II until a much later date (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 42, Fig. 8,*n*), and its

FIG. 6.—LACONIAN III. (SCALE 3:4.)

shape, which is not found later, and except for the flange round the base, is exactly that of the high wide-brimmed cups, of which many fragments were found in Laconian I ware[1] both at the sanctuary of Orthia and at the Menelaion.

The two vases shewn in Fig. 6 and Fig. 7 *a*, *b* belong to Laconian III, of which Fig. 6 must be called a lakaina, although the form of the handles

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 31.

(*a*)

(*b*)

FIG. 7 *a*, *b*.—LACONIAN III. (SCALE 3 : 4.)

FIG. 8.—LACONIAN III. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

is irregular,[1] and Fig. 7 falls probably rather late in the period, to judge from the somewhat inferior slip and the carelessness of the rim patterns (cf. Fig. 11). The sherds of Laconian III shewn in Fig. 8 do not call for

FIG. 9.—LACONIAN IV. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

much comment: *g* is perhaps the last appearance of the square and dot, here combined with the pomegranate, *a* is a floral pattern of which more

[1] Among the miniature vases (*B.S.A.* xiii, p. 129, note 2, p. 172, Fig. 2, B) this form of handle is not uncommon.

would be welcome, *f* shews an ivy leaf design very rare in Laconia but repeated in Laconian V (Fig. 12, *c*), and *e*, *d*, *l*, *o*, *r*, *w* make it clear that meaningless space-fillers, though never frequent, are nevertheless to be met with by this time on Laconian vases.

The oinochoe shewn in Fig. 9 (Ht. ·230 m.) should probably be classed with Laconian IV or at earliest with the very end of Laconian III. It is true that the covering of slip is complete, but its quality, like that of the black paint and of the purple which always is on black, is very poor. The patterns also are more careless than usual, and

FIG. 10.—LACONIAN IV. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

the very shape appears clumsy and degenerate when compared with the Laconian III jug published last year.[1] From the handle towards the left the figures are, swan facing l., sphinx facing r., cock facing l., siren facing l., cock facing r., swan facing r., and sphinx facing l. Two lizards, a cross, and two irregular rosettes are in the field. The sphinxes and sirens have black faces and purple hair. The condition of the vase was so bad that it could not be washed and the earth had to be removed with a needle.

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 38, Fig. 5.

FIG. 11.—LACONIAN IV. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

FIG. 12.—LACONIAN V. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

Very similar, if not from the same hand, is the fragment of an oinochoe, identical in shape and size, shewn in Fig. 10. A further sign of degeneracy is here seen in the absence of the twigs to the leaf-pattern above the animal frieze.

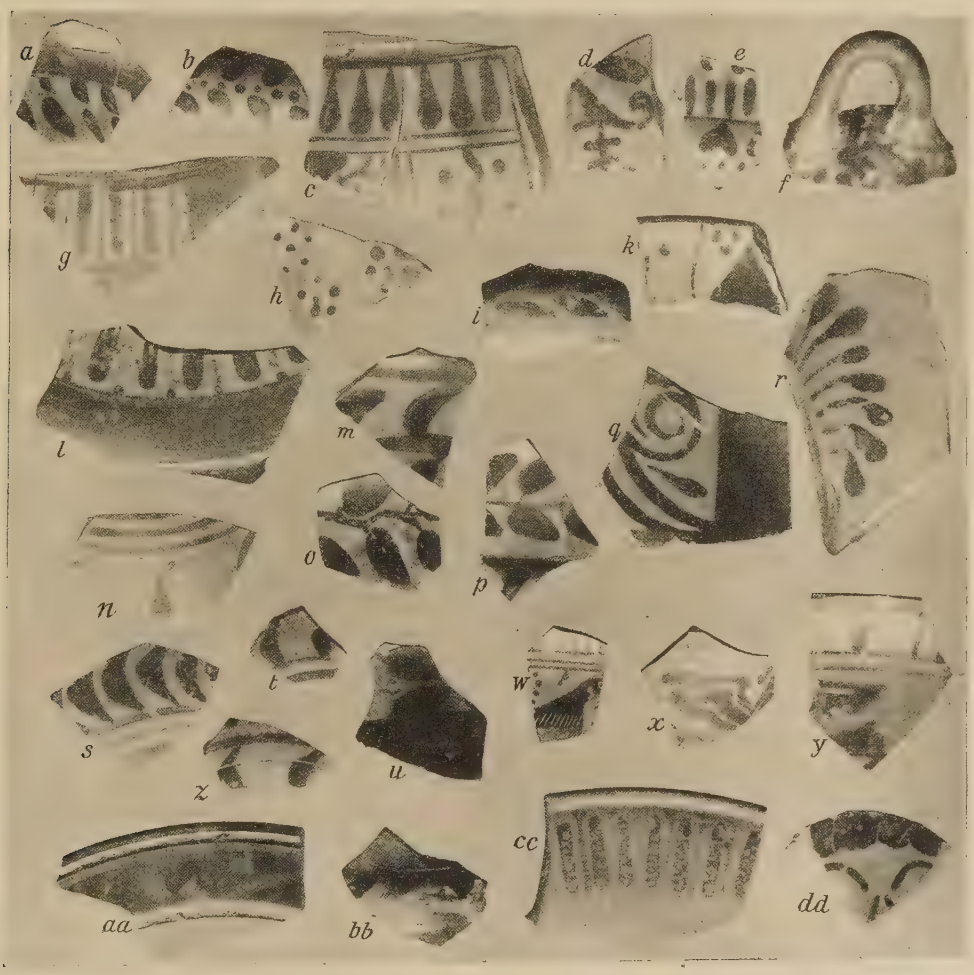

FIG. 13.—LACONIAN VI. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

Figs. 11, 12, 13 shew sherds of Laconian IV, V, and VI respectively, periods that were discussed fully last year.[1] The slip is poor consistently

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 40–44.

in the Laconian IV sherds, and in *e*, *l*, *o*, *r*, *dd* is only partially applied. The sherd shewn at *a* in Fig. 11 appears to be a reversion to the style of Laconian II, but the fabric as well as the position in which it lay leave no doubt that it is rightly placed here. The recrudescence of the use of white paint (latent, except on black handles (Fig. 4, *a*, *b*), since the days of Geometric pottery) with the disuse of slip in Laconian V is shewn in *b*, *d*, *l*, *y* of Fig. 12, while no words are needed to point out the connection of Laconian VI with the preceding periods, or to emphasise its utter degeneration.

FIG. 14.—VASE PAINTED IN OPAQUE COLOURS ON BLACK. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

The fragment shewn in Fig. 14 was found in 1906, not at the sanctuary of Orthia but in the Greek stratum at the Heroön by the river bank.[1]

In the drawing (which represents the fragment rolled out flat, and neglects the cracks left by imperfect joins) is seen part of a procession advancing to the left, in which a dog (only the hindquarters and tail are left) is followed by two youths blowing trumpets (?), behind whom follows a mounted figure holding a staff and leading a second horse. The work is extremely bad, and the artist clearly had not decided which of the two

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, p. 291 and n. 7.

trumpeters should be the nearer, with the result that he who appears the nearer is left without arms. Further it is not clear whether a second rider was not intended, for down the back is a mark which may be meant for a line of purple to indicate the further figure; and certainly it is not easy to decide whether or not the second foot is meant to hang down from behind the further horse. The pattern below the scene was probably some form of maeander.

The technique is interesting. On a ground of washy brown glaze (doubtless meant for black) the figures are painted in thick pink pigment, with details indicated by incisions, which cut down to, but not through, the black. The hair of the three figures, the cloak (?) of the foremost, and the further horse (except his eye) are painted over the pink in purple, much of which has worn off.

A full bibliography of the vases, mostly very small, thus painted with opaque colours on black, is to be found in Mr. Rhomaios' paper on two such sherds at Eleusis.[1] Without wishing to dispute Mr. Rhomaios' contention that these vases were an outcome of the Ionian tradition, I yet think the imitation which they achieved of the Attic red-figured style was so good, that we cannot but feel the need of strong proof before abandoning the theory that they were connected with the rise of the style.

The vase is made, I think, of local clay, and may have been a small krater, or indeed a large lakaina. The outward curve of the rim is very slight, and its diameter was probably about ·30 m.

The stratification at the Heroön was not close enough to date this vase accurately, but the majority of the known specimens of similar style are to be placed in the early years of the red-figured style. As Mr. Wace[2] points out, the drawing of the eye fits in well with such a date, and though in Laconia much weight cannot be attached to this point, the very degeneracy of the vase indicates a time when the ceramic art at Sparta was losing its vigour. Whatever the original sources of this style, I should be disposed to think that in this case the inspiration came from Attica; and, if we consider the probability that Nikosthenes modelled the decoration of certain of his oinochoai on the ware of Laconia, there is no difficulty in supposing that Attic influence may equally have made itself felt at Sparta at this date.

J. P. DROOP.

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 1906, p. 186. [2] *Loc. cit.*

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1909.

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§ 4.—Inscriptions.

The number of fresh inscriptions found in 1909 compares unfavourably with those of 1906 and 1908. This is hardly surprising, for the sanctuary of Orthia, which had previously yielded about one hundred different inscriptions, was known to be almost worked out as far as this class of finds was concerned, and in fact only four new texts were discovered here as the results of this year's excavations. In addition to this, the examination of the foundations of the late-Roman walls, which had yielded a plentiful crop of inscribed marbles in the three previous campaigns, was practically finished as regards the southern side, which, as being nearest to the Agora, was more likely to reward our search than the other sides. It seemed advisable, however, to continue the exploration of these walls on the eastern and northern faces, and this work was not fruitless, for, somewhat contrary to expectation, a large number of inscribed statue-bases of the Imperial age were found within a small area along the northern side of the walls. These had all been copied by Fourmont and published by Boeckh in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, but the readings in them can now be corrected in several small points. Apart from this find, excavations in this quarter did not furnish results of importance, except for the discovery of a much mutilated decree, probably of the first century A.D. The new inscriptions from other parts of ancient Sparta are not numerous, the Menelaion yielding only four short texts.

The subject matter of this paper is as follows: (1, A) New inscriptions from the sanctuary of Orthia. (1, B), Further notes on the Boys' Contest

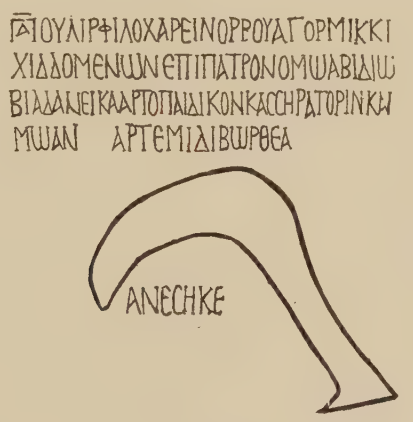
celebrated there. (2) Notes on Spartan Eponymi in the second century A.D., followed by a chronological classification of the afore-mentioned inscriptions. (3) Inscriptions from other parts of Sparta. (4) Corrections of the inscriptions copied by Fourmont which were re-discovered this season. (5) Corrections and emendations of other published Spartan inscriptions.

(1) INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SANCTUARY OF ORTHIA.

Inscriptions relating to the παιδικὸς ἀγών.

A.—*Fresh Inscriptions.*

96 (2673). Gable-topped stele of grey marble. ·43 × ·32 × ·05. Letters ·02 high. Cutting for sickle. Found in the western end of the water-channel, to the south of the temple.



Γά(ϊορ) Ἰούλιρ Φιλοχαρεῖνορ (β)ουαγὸρ μικκι-
χιδδομένων ἐπὶ πατρονόμω Ἀβιδίω
Βιάδα νεικάαρ τὸ παιδικὸν κασσηρατόριν καὶ
μῶαν Ἀρτέμιδι Βωρθέᾳ
ἀνέσηκε.

The date of Biadas' patronomate seems to have been *ca.* 150 A.D.[1] We should perhaps identify the present victor with Φιλοχαρεῖνορ Λυσίππω, whose success in the year of Cl. Sejanus is recorded in No. 11 of the

[1] See my list below, where he is numbered 17.

inscriptions of this class (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 364). This is, however, far from certain, for (1) it would be strange to find the same victor recording two successes on different stones; (2) it would be even more strange for him to call himself *βοαγὸρ μικιζομένων* in two different years; (3) there seems no reason why the same victor should use his Roman *praenomen* and *nomen* here and not in No. 11. Against this we should remember that Philocharinus was a rare name at Sparta, and only seems to occur in conjunction with the name Lysippus: father and son of these names are known in Spartan inscriptions of the second century A.D. The best known is Lysippus Philocharini f., who appears as Patronomus in *S.M.C.* 204 (= *C.I.G.* 1241) II, ll. 19, 20; *C.I.G.* 1242, ll. 19, 20; and apparently as *σύναρχος* to some magistrate in *S.M.C.* 372. It is no doubt his son who is victor in No. 11 (*B.S.A. loc. cit.*). Further, Biadas and Sejanus are known as Patronomi in *C.I.G.* 1249, and, as is shown below, held office within a short time of each other, perhaps in successive years: which of them preceded the other we have no means of telling. Under these circumstances there does not seem sufficient evidence for us to decide whether these two are to be identified or not. If we could say for certain that in one of the two stones *βοαγὸς μικιζομένων* was due to an error, either of the dedicator or the lapidary, there would be little ground for doubting the identity of these two victors. But on the other hand it is not certain enough to be used as evidence that *μικιζόμενος* was, as Tillyard suggested,[1] used loosely, and might even denote boys who had passed the age limit of fourteen. To this question I revert below.

97 (2665). Fragment of grey marble, complete on r. only. ·09 × ·11 × ·02. Letters ·015 high. Found built into Roman masonry near No. 96.

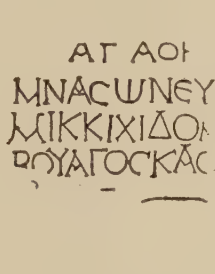
	- - *ἐπὶ πατρονό*]-
ΛΙΚΟΥ	[*μου Τιβ. Κλ. Βρασίδα τοῦ Ἀρμονε*]*ίκου*
ΛΙϹΑΡΟϹ	[*ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ* (?), *φιλοκ*]*αίσαρος*
ΟΠΠΟΛΙΤΕΥ	[*καὶ φιλοπάτριδος, ἀριστ*]*οπολιτευ*[*μ*]-
	[*ένου* - - -

From the form of the stone and style of the writing there can be little doubt that this inscription belongs to our series, and that some such restoration as is here suggested will alone account for the letters still

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, p. 390.

preserved. In l. 1 there was a curved letter before the *iota*, and Ἁρμονε]*ίκου* seems the most likely name to supply here. But we know of no Eponymus of this name at a date when this peculiarly poor style of lettering was in vogue (*ca.* 140–170 A.D.), and it is probable that we should supply the name of a son of Harmonicus; Tiberius Claudius Brasidas answers to our requirements.[1] He appears as Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1249, Col. III, and is numbered 20 in my list below. It is probably his son of the same name who is Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1259 and *B.S.A.* xii, p. 374, No. 36. The titles in ll. 2, 3 are taken from the last mentioned inscription. The last of them does not seem to have been [*ἀριστ*]*οπολιτευ*[*τοῦ*] as we might have expected, for the final letter in l. 3 was not Τ but Δ or Μ; perhaps the engraver meant to write *ἀριστοπολιτευομένου*, but omitted the *ο* before the *μ*. This is the most natural explanation. The date of this inscription is probably soon after 145 A.D.

98 (2666). Part of a gable-topped stele of greyish marble, complete above and on l. ·145 × ·175 × ·05. Letters ·02 high. Traces of cutting for sickle below. Found built into Roman masonry.



Ἀγαθῇ [*τύχῃ*.]
Μνάσων Εὐ - - -
μικκιχιδο[*μένων*]
[*β*]*ουαγὸς κασ*[*σηρατό*]-
5 [*ριν ἐπὶ* - -]
[*νικάσας* - -]
- - - -

The victor is unknown: judging by the restored length of l. 3, his father's name cannot have contained more than seven or eight letters. I restore l. 4 as consisting of sixteen letters, as those preserved are rather more crowded together than in the previous two lines. Thus the horizontal stroke which alone survives from l. 5 will be the remains of the *π* in *ἐπί* introducing the date. Date uncertain, perhaps first century A.D.

99 (2671). Fragment of a grey marble stele, complete above and on r. ·20 × ·30 × ·04. Letters ·015 high. Found in surface-earth in garden near S.W. corner of the temple.

[1] See the *stemma* of this family, *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 123.

ΑΓΑΘΗ	Ἀγαθῇ
ΤΥΧΗ	τύχῃ.
ΤΙΚΛΙΡΒΡΑϹ	[Τι. Κλα]ύδιρ Βρασί-
	[δαρ - - -

The victor may be either of the two men of this name, who appear in the genealogical table published last year (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 123). The letter-forms resemble those in Nos. 96 and 97, and point to about the same date, so perhaps the victor here is the younger Brasidas, and son of the man whose name I have restored as Eponymus in No. 97.

B.—*Further Notes on the Age and Standing of the Competitors.*

We now possess more than a hundred[1] dedications relating to the παιδικὸς ἀγών, and considerably more than half of them are sufficiently complete to enable us to restore the formulae correctly. There is, however, very little to add to the conclusions stated by Tillyard in dealing with the finds of the first campaign at the sanctuary of Orthia (*B.S.A.* xii, pp. 380 foll.). But we may glean a little further information, though it is not very definite, about the age and standing of the competitors, by a brief analysis of the inscriptions which record details on these points. There are thirty-six stones which contain the word παιδικόν,[2] and twenty-five which give us the word μικιζόμενος[3] (to adopt the simplest spelling of the word), or some other word such as πρατοπάμπαις which gives evidence of the actual age of the successful competitor. Many of the former class give us the word μικιζόμενος as well as the word παιδικόν: in any case the total number of stones which allude definitely to the fact that it was a boys' contest is sixty-one. Of the remaining stones thirty-two are so fragmentary as to give no definite information on this point,[4] so that we are left with

[1] Including those which are published above there are in all 104. See *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 353 foll., *a–j* and 1–48; *ibid.* xiii, pp. 182–188 and 196–200, Nos. 49–65; *ibid.* xiv, pp. 74 foll., Nos. 66–95, and many additions to previously published stones; and above, Nos. 96–99. This makes 108 in all, but we must omit No. 20, which deals with a different contest, the καρτερίας ἀγών, and Nos. 23, 29, and 30, which belong to the same stone as No. 18. The rest, to the best of my knowledge, represent 104 different inscriptions.

[2] Nos. *h*, *j*, 1, 3, 4, 5, [8], 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19*, 28, 31, [34], 35, 38, 39, 56, 58, 60, 62, 66, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 81, 82, 83, 94. Figures enclosed in square brackets imply that the word is a probable restoration.

[3] Nos. *c*, *e*, [*f*], 2*, 6, 11, 18*, 22, 26, 32, 36, 43, 45, 47, 55, 59, 61, 65, 74, 85, 95, 96, 98.

[4] Nos. *g*, 7, 9, 17, 25, 27, 33, 37, 41, 42, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 64, 67, 68, 77, 80, 86–93, 97, 99.

eleven[1] which do not state that the contest was a boys' one. But of these we may eliminate four (*a*, 44, 48, 63), which are metrical dedications and depart widely from the usual formulae, and this leaves seven stones (*b*, *d*, 21, 24, 40, 57, 69) which give no evidence of the age of the victors. I am inclined to think that these may have related to victories gained after boyhood was past. We know from No. 15 that on one occasion a winner recorded his victory in the *εἰρένων κελοῖαν* after having been victorious twice before in the *κασσηρατόριν*, and it is quite clear that such a contest must have been open only to those who had passed the limit of boyhood, and if such contests were held regularly it would be surprising that out of all the inscriptions found at the sanctuary of Orthia only one should have referred to this class. I would suggest, then, that some of the last seven inscriptions mentioned may very well have recorded such victories. Nor is there anything in the formulae themselves to go against this view. In Nos. 21 and 69 the victor is described as *βοαγόρ*; in No. 40 he is *κάσεν* to one Menecles; and in No. 57 he is *συνέφηβος*. These titles do not necessarily imply that the victor was still a boy, for they were held for life.[2]

To return to the boy-competitors. We have no allusion to boys younger than the age of ten (*μικιζόμενοι*) having been victors, but at what age they first competed is quite uncertain. We have, however, a piece of evidence which bears indirectly on this point. No. 74 tells us that Nicagorus won the boys' wrestling match at the games of Poseidon Gaiaochos and Athena (?) *ἀπὸ μικιχιζομένων μεχρὶ μελλειρονείας* (*sic*): we may reasonably assume that the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* in honour of Orthia was contested under the same conditions, *i.e.* that a boy might compete at least from his tenth year to his thirteenth.[3] Whether he could, or ever did, compete in the first two years of his state training, namely in his eighth and ninth years, we are unable to say. The evidence from the inscriptions is not definite in this matter, for in no case have we more than three sockets for sickles won unquestionably in the same contest. We have this number in No 47,* where Xenocles won three times in the Moa, gaining his first two victories as *μικιχιδδόμενος* and *πρατ[οπάμ]παις* respectively, and in No. 35, where, however, the stone seems to contain the names of five or perhaps six

[1] Nos. *a*, *b*, *d*, 21, 24*, 40, 44, 48, 57, 63, 69.

[2] See Tod, *S.M.C.* p. 20, § 27.

[3] As *μικιζόμενος*, *πρόπαις*, *παῖς*, and *μελλείρην*. See the well-known gloss on Herodotus quoted in this connexion by Mr. Tillyard, *B.S.A.* xii, p. 386, note 2.

Eponymi. In this case the three sickles will not represent all the victories which Lachares won, but the stone is so badly damaged that we cannot use its contents as certain evidence. Under these circumstances we can only say that it seems probable boys could compete in the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* in all six years of their state training: that they did so in their last four years of it is unquestionable; the absence of records of victories won by boys in their first two years[1] will be referred to later.

Πρατοπάμπαις, *Ἀτροπάμπαις*. These words, for which our only certain evidence was at first Nos. 10 and 15 (found in 1906), are now known from several more stones. No. 47* is clearly to be restored *πρατ[οπάμ]παις*, as was pointed out last year (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 95), and we have now in No. 56 *πρατοπάνπαις*, in No. 70 *ἀτροπάνπαις*, in No. 71 and probably in No. 83 *βουαγὸς πρατοπαμπαίδων*, and in No. 84, [*πρα*]*τοπαμπα*[*ίδων*?]. These instances more than suffice to prove that *βοαγὸς πρατοπαμπαίδων* must rank with *βοαγὸς μικιζομένων* as denoting the captain of a band of boys of a certain age, and that *πρατοπάμπαις* and *ἀτροπάμπαις* denote a boy of a certain age. At what age they were so called we have hitherto been unable to say, for we have no instances of these words except in this particular class of inscriptions. It was evidently while they were still boys, for we see that in Nos. 10, 56, 71 and 83 the contest in which boys who bore this title were victorious, was described as *τὸ παιδικόν*. Further we may see from No. 15 that a boy was *πρατοπάμπαις* before he became *ἀτροπάμπαις*, and from 47* that he was *πρατοπάμπαις* after he was *μικιζόμενος*. *Πρατοπάμπαις* thus cannot mean, as Tillyard suggested, that the victor was superior to all boys of any age, but would seem rather to mean a boy in the first year of complete 'boyhood,'[2] and thus would be equivalent to *πρόπαις* in the gloss recently alluded to, while *ἀτροπάμπαις* would be equivalent to *παῖς* in the technical sense: they would consequently signify a boy in his eleventh and twelfth years respectively. The meaning of the element *ἀτρο-* in the latter word, for which no explanation has hitherto been given, requires some

[1] In which the boy was called *ῥωβίδας* and *προμικιζόμενος* (MS. *προκομιζόμενος*).

[2] In games at Thespiae there was a class of competitors called *πάμπαιδες* (*I.G.* viii, 1761), who were apparently distinguished from *παῖδες* as being younger. These two divisions seem to correspond with *παῖδες οἱ νεώτεροι* and *παῖδες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι* (*ibid.* 1765). *Πάμπαιδες* were also a class in the Pan-Boeotian games (*ibid.* 2871); and at Chalkis we likewise find *πάνπαιδες* distinguished from *παῖδες* (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1897, pp. 195 foll., where Kavvadias shows clearly that the former was the younger class). The further division into *πρατοπάμπαιδες* and *ἀτροπάμπαιδες* is confined to Sparta.

comment. On the analogy of my suggested translation of πρατοπάμπαις, the word ought to mean a boy in his second (or some later) year of complete boyhood. That it cannot, however, refer to a boy's last year is proved by the fact that boys of that age were called μελλείρενες. And that it must mean a boy in his second year of 'complete boyhood' is plain when we realize that ἄτρος = ἄτερος = ἕτερος[1] meaning second. This explanation seems to me unquestionable, and the word will thus be exactly analogous to πρατοπάμπαις, and is, as we have seen, to be explained on the same lines.

There is thus ample evidence to confirm the view that these contests were not confined to boys of ten; but there remains another question which was still insoluble from the inscriptions found prior to, and in, 1906. Tillyard suggested that such words as συνέφηβος, etc. 'were not always used in their strictest technical sense, and that the contest was sometimes called τὸ παιδικόν and the competitors μικιχιζόμενοι even when the age limit of fourteen had been passed.'[2] But the explanation just given of the meaning of the terms πρατοπάμπαις and ἀτροπάμπαις proves this suggestion to be untenable. We now see that when a boy recorded in his dedication the age at which he was victorious he meant exactly what he said, and used terms with a definite meaning which applied to one year only. There is only one instance which might seem to support the opposite view, namely No. 96 above, but, as is pointed out (*ad loc.*), the evidence is not certain enough to enable us to decide whether this is an instance of the same victor calling himself βοαγὸρ μικιζομένων in two different years or not. It cannot therefore be said to disprove what is, after all, the more natural view, that these words were only used in their literal sense.

Another point which now seems certain is that there was not a separate contest for boys in each year of their training, for we have no epigraphical evidence of a boy-victor calling himself ῥωβίδας, προμικιζόμενος, or μελλείρην. But if there had been such contests, it is impossible that we should not have found dedications by boys of these ages. A possible

[1] ἄτερος for ἕτερος. See Herwerden, *Lexicon Graecum supplet. et dialect.*, p. 125; there is no necessity to quote instances, which are frequent. The loss of ε between τ and ρ has no exact parallel, but ε is often omitted between two consonants in inscriptions on vases, *e.g.* ἐπόεσν; see Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften*, p. 124. For a list of examples in classical and mediaeval Greek see Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Grammar*, p. 82, § 136.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 390.

exception is No. 15 where Onasiclidas records his victories thus: *νεικάσας κασσηρατόριν πρατοπαμπαίδων ἁτροπαμπαίδων, εἰρένων δὲ κελοῖαν.* The first two genitives[1] here may, however, be due merely to a loose form of construction, and cannot counterbalance the evidence of the vast majority of the other stones on which the victor's age is given in the nominative, or, which amounts to the same thing, in the genitive depending on *βοαγόρ.* The theory that there was a single class in each of the three contests (*μῶα, κελῆα,* and *κατθηρατόριν*) open to boys in all six years of their state training, accounts for the fact noticed above that there are no certain records of victories by boys in their first two years of state training, for it is only natural that boys of eight and nine were too young and inexperienced to have stood a chance against their older competitors of twelve and thirteen. Under these circumstances the large proportion of victories won by *μικιζόμενοι* is surprising. It may only be due to accident, for, as we have seen, thirty-two out of our total of one hundred and four inscriptions are left out of our reckoning as being too fragmentary: had these been complete our statistics might have been different. But a possible explanation is that it was extremely creditable to win when so young as ten (*μικιζόμενος*), and that almost every victor of this age took care to commemorate his victory. And we may perhaps account for the absence of dedications recording the victories of *μελλείρενες* by the explanation that some of the stones which contain the words *τὸ παιδικόν* without any record of the winner's age were set up by *μελλείρενες*, who did not feel that it was necessary to record their age, as there was no great credit in winning in one's last year of entry for the competition.

Another question which must remain unsolved is whether the victors were teams or individuals. The evidence from the stones themselves would certainly lead us to believe that the victories were won by individuals, for there is nowhere any mention of more than one victor in the same contest in the same year, whereas in the dedications by teams of ball-players all the members of the winning team are mentioned by name.[2] But in the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* it was not a question of teams only, but rather of competitions between the various *ἀγέλαι* into which the boys were divided, and so it would perhaps be too much to expect all the names of a victorious *ἀγέλη* to be recorded. In spite of the testimony of various ancient authors,

[1] The phrase *εἰρένων κελοῖαν* has been dealt with above.
[2] Tod, *S.M.C.* p. 16; *B.S.A.* x, pp. 63 foll.; xiii, 212 foll.

our knowledge of the basis on which the *ἀγέλαι* were organized is very vague, and it is unprofitable to speculate on the matter[1]; but if these inscriptions record victories by teams, as Tillyard, following Preger,[2] suggested, it is strange that the dedication was not made in every case by the *βοαγός* who was captain of the team. We have in fact only twenty-six certain cases of dedications by *βοαγοί*, as opposed to thirty-seven dedications by boys who were not *βοαγοί*. In the latter group nine[3] of the victors record that they were *κάσεν* to somebody else, and four that they were *συνέφηβος*. It is unlikely that the youthful Spartan would omit to style himself *βοαγός* if he owned that distinction, for we know that they treasured it for life.[4] So we may reasonably infer that the dedication was not by any means always made by the leader of the *ἀγέλη*. This in my opinion is one of the strongest arguments against the view that these stones were dedicated to commemorate the victories of a team or an *ἀγέλη*; but I prefer to leave the matter undecided, merely noting that there was no restriction placed on dedications by boys who were neither *βοαγοί* nor even had the honour of being *κάσεν* or *συνέφηβοι* to somebody.

In this connexion it will be worth our while to try to arrive at the exact meaning of these two terms, *κάσεν* and *συνέφηβος*. There is no need to repeat the arguments with which Boeckh supported his view that the *κάσις* was a kind of *πάρεδρος* or assessor to the Eponymus, and was chosen by him from those who had been in the same band with himself. Owing to the inaccuracy of Fourmont's copies Boeckh did not know the word *κάσεν* in its proper form, though he gives a list of several abbreviations of it.[5] As a matter of fact it was the usual form of the word, as *κάσις* in the singular does not seem to occur at all in Spartan inscriptions. This will, I think, justify us in suggesting that in the note of Hesychius on the word *κάσις· οἱ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγέλης ἀδελφοί τε καὶ ἀνεψιοί*, the first word should be plural *κάσεις*. It is of course the ordinary plural of the word *κάσις*, but at Sparta, for the singular, the archaic word *κάσεν* with its particular meaning

[1] See, however, Tod, *B.S.A.* x, pp. 77 foll. for some valuable suggestions on these points.

[2] *Ath. Mitt.* xxii (1897), p. 338.

[3] Ten, if we regard the restoration of No. 64 as certain.

[4] Tod, *S.M.C.* Introd. p. 20, § 27.

[5] *C.I.G.* i, p. 613, quoted by Tillyard (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 388), who points out that the last of those cited by Boeckh is due to a wrong reading of the stone (*C.I.G.* 1249). This was confirmed in 1907 by our re-discovery of this inscription which has KACEN quite plainly (Col. II, l. 7), followed by KCEN a little lower down (*ibid.* l. 14). See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 209.

of comrade in an ἀγέλη to another boy was always used instead. This implies a deliberate rejection of Boeckh's view, and that it is no longer tenable will, I think, appear from the following considerations. (1) We have nine or ten examples of boy-victors calling themselves κάσεν to somebody else, and there is no reason to suppose that they waited until they were grown up before recording their victories and dedicating their sickles, though they may well have waited in some cases until after they had competed in the παιδικὸς ἀγών for the last time. (2) We know that the titles βοαγός and συνέφηβος which were conferred on boys were held for life. (3) Hesychius' explanation as 'class-mate' suits the evidence from the present series of inscriptions, whereas Boeckh's does not. (4) It is unwarrantable to suppose that κάσεν in these inscriptions should have a different meaning from that which it bears in the other contemporary Spartan inscriptions, on which alone Boeckh's view was based. The last point alone is surely enough to decide the question adversely to Boeckh, and we can hardly doubt that if he had known even a single inscription of our series which contained the word κάσεν and recorded a victory in the παιδικὸς ἀγών he could never have formulated his theory. We may go further and say that the present evidence is strongly in favour of taking κάσεν-ship as implying κάσεν-ship to a βοαγός,[1] and not merely to another class-mate of equal standing with oneself, for we have no instance in the inscriptions either from the sanctuary of Orthia or from elsewhere in Sparta, of a βοαγός describing himself as κάσεν to anyone else. But this theory, though it explains many of our difficulties, does not account satisfactorily for the following objection. Why should not all the boy-victors who were not themselves βοαγοί have called themselves κάσεν to their βοαγός? We can only answer that κάσεν-ship to the βοαγός must have been a privilege, but on what grounds it was granted we cannot say. But it is a likely supposition that it was founded on relationship, and that after all κάσεν in this context preserves some traces of its original meaning. This bears out the second part of the explanation given to the word by Hesychius. Thus there is nothing improbable in the kinsmen, however distant, of a βοαγός availing themselves gladly of an opportunity of recording their relationship to him. Even Ancient Sparta did not escape the problem of the Poor Relation! This explains clearly enough how a man

[1] As was suggested by Bosanquet and Tillyard (*op. cit.* p. 389). The accumulated evidence from Spartan inscriptions since 1906 only confirms and elucidates this view.

could have two or more *κάσεις* or in turn be *κάσεν* to two or more *βοαγοί*. So it is no longer necessary to suppose that a competitor passed from one team to another, as Tillyard suggested,[1] but in the latter case it would mean that he was related to the different *βοαγοί* who succeeded each other at the head of his *ἀγέλη*.

With regard to the *συνέφηβος* we have less to guide us. Here, as with *κάσεν*, we have no mention of a *βοαγός* being *συνέφηβος* to anyone else, but this is not sufficient evidence to make us identify the two terms, nor is there any reason why we should. We have in all only twelve instances of this word in its technical sense, and in several of these, owing to the damaged condition of the stones, we are unable to supply the name of the man to whom the person in question was *συνέφηβος*. Boeckh knew six of these inscriptions,[2] and to them we must add *S.M.C.* 213, and the following dedications in the *παιδικὸς ἀγών*: 12, 38, [44], 57, and 95. Of the latter class only two are of value in the present connexion as the others are very incomplete.[3] But the five examples which Boeckh alludes to (the sixth is too much damaged to be restorable) all contain names of men who are known elsewhere to have been Eponymi. This led naturally to his view that a man was *συνέφηβος* to an Eponymus only, and there seems no reason to doubt this explanation, for this is true of *S.M.C.* 213, and of one of the two *παιδικὸς ἀγών* inscriptions to which allusion has just been made, namely No. 95, where M. Ulpius Aristocrates is *συνέφηβος* to Julius Eurycles, the date of whose patronomate is known.[4] It may quite well be due to accident that we have no record of the patronomate of Pom(peius) Aristoteles, son of Menophanes, to whom Nicephorus, the victor in No 57, was *συνέφηβος*; but the fact that we have seven cases in which a boy or man records that he was *συνέφηβος* to a man known to have been Eponymus, as opposed to one case where the man was not known to have been such, strongly supports Boeckh's view. It has been already pointed out that *συνέφηβος* in our inscriptions has lost its literal sense as far as the word *ἔφηβος* is concerned, and one of the difficulties felt by Tillyard with regard to the expression was due to a misunderstanding of the phrase in No. 12, which I have explained in a more satisfactory way.[5] But it is beyond dispute

[1] *Loc. cit.* [2] *C.I.G.* 1244, 1247, 1255, 1256, 1359, 1364 *b*.
[3] The restoration of the name in No. 12 is not certain: we should perhaps read Λακ[ρ - -
[4] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 207. [5] *Ibid.* p. 199.

that a boy called himself *συνέφηβος* to the Eponymus long before he arrived at the age of fourteen, when he became an *ἔφηβος* in the technical sense, and in No. 95 there seems to be unquestionable evidence for a boy being *συνέφηβος* to an Eponymus who held office not more than a year after the birth of the boy in question. This implies that the position of the Eponymus was like that of god-father to the boy rather than anything else, though we have no means of saying whether he held this position in his year of office or later. This inscription then shows that the post of 'boy-orderly' was not always more than honorary, and it is regrettable that our knowledge of the chronology of the Spartan magistrates of the second century A.D. is not more certain than it is, for we are unable to give an exact date to the other inscriptions recording the names of *συνέφηβοι*, and thus to decide the relative ages of the *συνέφηβος* and the Eponymus.

With regard to the other points dealt with by Tillyard (*loc. cit.*) there is nothing to add here, but it will perhaps be profitable to add in brief the meanings of the terms dealt with in the preceding discussion.

πρατοπάμπαις: a boy in his first year of full boyhood, thus probably equal to *πρόπαις*, meaning a boy in his eleventh year.

ἀτροπάμπαις (=*ἑτεροπάμπαις*): a boy in his second year of full boyhood, thus probably equivalent to *παῖς*, in the technical sense of a boy in his twelfth year.

βοαγός: a boy who was leader of those boys in his *ἀγέλη* who were of the same age as himself (*e.g.* *βοαγὸς μικιζομένων*, the boy-leader of the boys in their tenth year, *βοαγὸς πρατοπαμπαίδων*, the boy-leader of the boys in their eleventh year).

τῷ δεῖνι κάσεν: used of a boy who had the privilege of recording his 'kinship' to the *βοαγός* of his *ἀγέλη* and of his own year. This limited privilege was very likely based on actual relationship.

τῷ δεῖνι συνέφηβος: used of a boy who had the privilege of being a kind of 'god-son' to an Eponymus and perhaps also to an ex-Eponymus. These boys were never themselves *βοαγοί*.

(2) NOTES ON SPARTAN EPONYMI IN THE SECOND CENTURY, A.D.

Two years ago (*B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 200–7) I attempted to reconstruct the list of the eponymous Patronomi at Sparta in the Hadrianic era, and I propose here to make an attempt on the same lines to fill the gap, as far as

I can, between the end of Hadrian's reign and the decade 180–190 A.D., in which the interesting episode of the patronomate of the divine Lycurgus took place.[1] The material is, however, much less easy to deal with, as the period in question covers upwards of forty years, and we have no fixed chronological points in it which we can check with the aid of external information, such as the visits of Hadrian to Sparta or the year of the death of Atticus, which were of great assistance in determining the dates of the Hadrianic Eponymi. There, are, however, a few instances in which the evidence of Roman history is of some slight help to us. (1) The *praenomen* and *nomen* Marcus Aurelius are not likely to have been borne by any Spartan citizen before the accession of the Emperor of that name (161 A.D.). (2) We have an allusion to an embassy sent to the Emperor Antoninus Pius in Rome (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 464, No. 17) which gives a *terminus ante quem* for the dates of the Eponymi contained earlier in that inscription: this evidence I unfortunately overlooked in compiling the list of Hadrianic Eponymi alluded to above, but it helps to link the Eponymi who were mentioned there to those with whom I am about to deal. (3) We have probably an allusion to the same Emperor in *C.I.G.* 1247, which gives a *terminus post quem* for the engraving of that inscription: it contains some names of magistrates which are of importance for our purpose, though the name of the Eponymus is lost. (4) We have in *C.I.G.* 1304 a list of the *νομοφύλακες* in the year of [Δί]ων(?), who erected a statue to some member of the Imperial family whom it is impossible to identify, though there are reasons for supposing that it was Marcus Aurelius.[2]

Although the epigraphical material is fairly plentiful, there is no possibility of giving an absolute date to any of the magistrates here mentioned, though in the case of several of them, we can establish a sequence within certain limits. But even the relative dating of many must remain uncertain, as we have no such complete records of a long *cursus honorum* as those in *C.I.G.* 1241 (*S.M.C.* 204), which formed the foundation for the chronology of the Spartan Eponymi in the reign of Hadrian. It will be noted that my list does not contain some of the names

[1] See *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 112 foll.

[2] This was re-discovered in 1907, and published in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 209. If we could assume for certain that the *praenomen* TI was a mistake of the engraver for M, the stone would clearly refer to Marcus Aurelius before he became Emperor, for we have evidence for his being called M. Aurelius Verus Caesar, whereas the name, as it stands, is not that of a known personage. For his titles see Klebs, *Prosop. Imp. Rom.* p. 72, *s.v.* M. Annius Verus.

of Eponymi given by Boeckh and Foucart as belonging to the period under discussion, for they, as indeed all subsequent commentators on Spartan inscriptions, assumed that every man was an Eponymus to whom another man was *κάσεν*. This, however, I do not believe to have been the case, for the reasons stated above (p. 49), and so I have removed from the list of Eponymi all those names which rest solely on the evidence of *κάσεν*-ship, for the proof that their bearers were Eponymi.

The principal inscription recording the *cursus honorum* of distinguished Spartan magistrates for the post-Hadrianic era is *C.I.G.* 1249, which was refound at Sparta in 1907: the few corrections necessary in Boeckh's text are given in *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 209, 10. In Col. III of this stone we have the *cursus honorum* of the Ephors in the year of Cassius Aristoteles, who are also recorded in *C.I.G.* 1241 (*S.M.C.* 204), Col. I, ll. 23–28. We may give as a sample the career of Callicrates Callicratis f.[1] [--*ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος γρ(αμματεὺς) β*]*ου(λῆς)*(?), *ἐπὶ Σπαρτιατίκου γερ(ουσίας)*, *ἐπὶ Εὐδαμίδα νο(μο)φύλαξ*, *ἐπὶ Σηϊανοῦ γρα(μματεὺς) βου(λῆς)* [*τὸ β'*[2]], *ἐπὶ Χάρακος γερ(ουσίας)* [*τὸ β'*[2]], *ἐπὶ Ἀριστοτέλους ἐφόρων πρ(έσβυς)*. This gives us the following sequence of Eponymi: Spartiaticus, Eudamidas, Sejanus, Charax, Aristoteles. The names of his four fellow-ephors give us the following: (1) Biadas, Aristoteles. (2) Sejanus, Aristoteles. (3) Eudamidas, Aristocrates, Charax, Aristoteles. (4) Brasidas, Aristoteles. Gorgion Cleobuli f., the *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων* in the same year, held office under the following: Biadas, Charax, Aristoteles. A colleague was *γραμματοφύλαξ* under Areton, but we have no means of fixing this particular name. A continuation of the sequence, in which the first name is Cassius Aristoteles, is to be found in *C.I.G.* 1239, Col. III, where Eutychus, who was *συνέφηβος* of Diares[3] Bruti f., records his career, in which he held office under the following: Cassius Aristoteles, Agetoridas, Xenarchidas, and Nedymus: in the same column the career of Glycon Glyconis f. supplies the following names of Eponymi: Titianus, Agetoridas, Nedymus. So far we have

[1] The name is correctly restored by Boeckh from *C.I.G.* 1241 (*S.M.C.* 204).

[2] The fact that he held these two offices twice is practically certain, though in neither case is *τὸ β'* inserted. The letters in l. 1 before *ἐπὶ Σπαρ[τι]ατίκου* are damaged but were apparently the same as in l. 4 *ad fin.* namely ΓΡΑΒΥΟ, and the abbreviation for *γερουσίας* is identical in both places where it occurs. The former sign may, however, have been merely ΒΟ *i.e.* *βου(αγός)*: there is nothing visible before the Β, but the stone is damaged at this corner.

[3] Whose patronomate may have fallen before the Hadrianic era, as we have no other record of it.

obtained the following certain sequence: Spartiaticus, Eudamidas, Sejanus, Charax, Cassius Aristoteles, Agetoridas, Xenarchidas, Nedymus. The exact position of the other Eponymi mentioned is uncertain, but we may gather that Aristocrates was later than Eudamidas and earlier than Charax, that Biadas was earlier than Charax, and that Brasidas and Areton were earlier than Aristoteles. Titianus was earlier than Agetoridas, but whether he also preceded Aristoteles we cannot tell. There is no certain information to be obtained from a study of the magistracies held under these Eponymi, though we may gather that, in the majority of cases, a man was *νομοφύλαξ* and *γερουσίας* before he became Ephor, though there are several exceptions. It also appears that it was unusual for men who had been *νομοφύλακες* together to appear as colleagues in the Ephorate, so we have no clue to the length of time that might have elapsed between a man's tenure of these two posts. Nor can we tell how many names are missing from the list that begins with Spartiaticus and ends with Nedymus. It will, however, be a safe assumption that the thirteen Eponymi given above, fall within a period of not more than twenty years, and perhaps less, from 140–160 A.D.

We have also a few names of Eponymi to insert either just before or just after the time of Spartiaticus. They are the following: (1) Caius Julius Eudamus,[1] who appears in *C.I.G.* 1241 (*S.M.C.* 204) Col. I; he was clearly earlier than Cassius Aristoteles, but we are ignorant of all the other details of his career, though perhaps he was *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων* under Philocratidas in *C.I.G.* 1248. This may, however, have been his son of the same name, as he is there called *Εὔδαμος* <. In the latter case Philocratidas will belong to a later date, not before 160 A.D. (2) Damocles Damoclis f. qui et Philocrates is also known to have been an Eponymus somewhere near the end of the reign of Hadrian. We must be careful to distinguish between the two persons, father and son, of the same name. The former is known to us as having held two offices, namely that of *νομοφύλαξ* under Caius Julius Philocleidas, *C.I.G.* 1237, 1238, and that of *γερουσίας* (?), in an unknown year, in *S.M.C.* 248. From the latter inscription we learn that his father's name was likewise Damocles. For the career of his son there is plenty of evidence. I suggested two years ago that his name should be restored in *C.I.G.* 1241 (*S.M.C.* 204) Col. II, as the hero of the *cursus honorum* there recorded, and from a further study of the material in the *C.I.G.* alone, I have collected seven inscriptions

[1] Whom I provisionally dated 'after 136 A.D.' in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 207.

which contain his name. It occurs in *C.I.G.* 1246, presumably in a list of Ephors, though the title is lost, and in 1366 he is recorded as receiving a statue for his activity as *γυμνασίαρχος*; and in the three following stones it seems a safe and obvious restoration: *C.I.G.* 1247

—ΜΟΚΛΗΣ<ΤΟΥ	*i.e.* [Δα]μοκλῆς < τοῦ
—ΥΣ	[καὶ Φιλοκράτο]υς,

where he is apparently *ἔνσιτος*,[1] though this word is lost, at the end of the list of *νομοφύλακες* in some year later than the accession of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. In *C.I.G.* 1264 we have a small fragment which begins thus:

ΕΡΟΝΤΕΣ	*i.e.* [Γ]έροντες [ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους]
ΤΟΥ3ΤΟΥΚΑΙΦ	τοῦ 3 τοῦ καὶ Φ[ιλοκράτους]

And *ibid.* 1269 gives us the remains of the list of *βίδεοι* in the year when he was Eponymus. The first two lines are printed thus by Boeckh:

ΒΙΔΕΟΙΕΠΙΔΑΜΟ . . .	*i.e.* Βίδεοι ἐπὶ Δαμο[κλέους]
ΤΟΥ . . CI . . ΙΦΙΛΟΙ . . .	τοῦ [3 τ]ρ[ῦ κα]ὶ Φιλο[κράτους]

It is unfortunate that in these last two lists the names of the *γέροντες* and *βίδεοι* should be mutilated beyond all recognition. I believe that *C.I.G.* 1258 is to be added to this list,[2] though there (perhaps merely to economize space) his father is merely called Φιλοκρ[άτης]. In Col. II, ll. 13, 14, of that inscription we have

ΜΟΥΔΑΜΟ - -
ΤΟΥΦΙΛΟΚΡ - -

which must in all probability be restored as ἐπὶ πατρονό]|μου Δαμο[κλέους]| τοῦ Φιλοκρ[άτους]. In addition to these inscriptions we have mention of a Damocles as Eponymus (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 464, No. 17, l. 3), who may very well be the same man, though it is just possible that in this case it is his father who is referred to. It is, however, more likely to be the son, and in this case we may infer that he was Eponymus at least two years before 136, for Philocrates Onesiphori f., who was a member of the *γερουσία* under

[1] He cannot be *νομοφύλαξ* here, as we have the names of five *νομοφύλακες* above his. For the question as to their number see Tod, *S.M.C.* Introd. pp. 10, 11, § 15.

[2] See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 204, where I had previously suggested this restoration.

Damocles, held two subsequent posts before going to Pannonia on an embassy to 'Lucius Caesar,' Hadrian's adopted son: this embassy would have taken place in 136 on the news of his adoption. This points to the conclusion that Damocles, and likewise Aristocles, who is mentioned immediately after him in the same inscription, held office some time between the years 130 and 135, and it will be noticed that there are two vacant years in my list of the Eponymi of this period. To these we may confidently allot the names of Damocles and Aristocles.

(3) Another man who was Eponymus in all probability during the period 136–145 is Tiberius Claudius Aristoteles, who is of course to be distinguished from Cassius Aristoteles, mentioned above. We have a *terminus post quem* for the year of his patronomate in our knowledge that he held office later than Aphthonetus, whose date was *ca.* 133,[1] since on the upper part of the stone (*C.I.G.* 1243) which records the Ephors in the year of Tib. Cl. Aristoteles is engraved the *cursus honorum* of a man who held his last recorded office in the year of Aphthonetus.[2] The only other detail of his career of which we can be certain, is that he was πρέσβυς γερουσίας under Timomenes, in *C.I.G.* 1248. This may have been several years later than his tenure of the patronomate. There are, however, reasons for supposing that he should be identified with the Tib. Cl. Aristoteles who is known in several Spartan inscriptions which belong to a somewhat later date,[3] though there may very well have been two persons of this name. Nevertheless, it is not altogether unreasonable to suggest the identification, since the lower part of *C.I.G.* 1243, which mentions the name of Aristoteles, may have been engraved several years later than the upper half of the stone.

(4) Timomenes under whom Tib. Cl. Aristoteles was πρέσβυς γερουσίας, probably held the patronomate several years after the latter, for the position implies a certain degree of seniority in that assembly. Boeckh was of the opinion that this inscription was not earlier than the reign of

[1] See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 207.

[2] The name is badly mutilated: a suggested restoration will be found below, p. 92, in a note on this inscription.

[3] Boeckh distinguished between two persons of this name, and believed that the later one was prominent under Caracalla. He is mentioned in *C.I.G.* 1349, 1350, 1353, and 1448. But Boeckh's dating is too late, for we know that the later Tib. Cl. Aristoteles (if there were two) was father-in-law to P. Memmius Pratolaus, qui et Aristocles, Damaris f. who was born *ca.* 155 A.D. See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 123 for the *stemma* of this family. This inclines me to think that there was only one Tib. Cl. Aristoteles.

Marcus Aurelius,[1] but I would suggest that *ca.* 160 A.D. was the probable date for the patronomate of Timomenes.

(5) Nicephorus, whom we know from *C.I.G.* 1242 to have held the patronomate later than Lysippus Mnasonis f., must also belong to the period shortly after the death of Hadrian, but we cannot hope to identify him, as there seem to have been several distinguished Spartans of this name who were contemporaries.[2]

(6) Callicrates Callicratis f. is likewise to be inserted in our list at about this time. His name occurs in several inscriptions,[3] and we know that, among other posts which he held, he was *νομοφύλαξ* under Eudamidas (*C.I.G.* 1249), and *πρέσβυς ἐφόρων* under Cassius Aristoteles (*ibid.* 1241). I would suggest that he was Eponymus early in the period between his tenure of these two positions, though we have instances of men who were clearly Eponymus before being even *νομοφύλαξ*, Caius Pomponius Alcastus being a case in point.

(7) Callicrates Rufi f. must have belonged to a slightly later period: he is known to have been a colleague of the preceding man in the office of *νομοφύλαξ*. The Ephors under his patronomate are recorded in *C.I.G.* 1240, which gives us a hint as to the date of his tenure of that post, for the *πρέσβυς ἐφόρων* in his year is C. Julius Lysicrates Charixeni f., who is no doubt son of (C.) Julius Charixenus, the Eponymus of *ca.* 127 A.D. He is also, as Tillyard suggested, almost certainly the victor in the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* inscription (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 367, No. 16), which belongs to the year of Aristocles, whose date, as I have shown above, fell about 132. This implies that not less than twenty years elapsed between the date of his victory and of his ephorate, and consequently the patronomate of Callicrates can hardly have fallen before 150 A.D.

(8) The same Lysicrates is presumably the Julius Lysicrates who was Eponymus in *S.M.C.* 718, though the father's name is there omitted.

[1] 'Titulus secundum patronomorum seriem quamvis incertam non potest M. Aurelio vel Commodo antiquior haberi.' *ad* 1248. He is, I think, correctly restored as Eponymus in the votive inscription to Orthia, *B.S.A.* xii, p. 375, No. 38.

[2] Νικήφορος Ἀριστο[βούλου], *C.I.G.* 1241; Νικήφορος Καθήκοντος, *C.I.G.* 1239, 1240; Ἀριστονικίδας Νικηφόρου, *C.I.G.* 1253; Κορινθᾶς Νεικηφόρου, *C.I.G.* 1256; Ἰούλιος Νεικήφ[ορος], *S.M.C.* 215; Μᾶρκος Νεικη(φ)[όρου], *S.M.C.* 787.

[3] Boeckh distinguishes between the Callicrates who is Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1249, Col. II, and the man of that name who was *νομοφύλαξ* and *πρέσβυς ἐφόρων*, and believes that the Callicrates Callicratis f. who is *ἔνσιτος* in *C.I.G.* 1252 is a different person. I see no possible reason for not believing them to be *all* one and the same man.

We may with considerable probability restore his name as *νομοφύλαξ* and *γραμματοφύλαξ* in *C.I.G.* 1247; though nothing appears on the stone before *Χαριξένου*, there is room for a fairly long name, and we have no mention of any other son of this Charixenus. The name of the Eponymus for this year is lost, but the *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων* is C. Pomponius Alcastus, to whom we have alluded already. If Lysicrates was born about 120, as seems likely from his having been victor as a boy *ca.* 132, he may quite well have been Eponymus during the decade 140–150: in any case, it is probable that he held this post before that of senior Ephor, and he, like Callicrates Callicratis f. above, seems to have been Eponymus shortly before or after the year in which he was *νομοφύλαξ*. He must have married whilst quite young, if the suggestion made below is correct that his son fought against the Parthians under L. Verus (see p. 100).

We may now turn our attention to some rather mutilated inscriptions containing names of Eponymi who seem to belong to a later period than those discussed at the beginning of this paper. A few of them may belong to the decade 150–160, but the majority apparently held office after the latter date. They are the following: *C.I.G.* 1250, 1254, 1256, 1257+1276,[1] and 1259. From No. 1250, of which the reading in ll. 18, 19 is uncertain, we get the two names Pericles and Pratonicus. It is possible that these were preceded by M. Aristo[crates], but Boeckh's restoration is doubtful, and Aristocrates may be the name of the father of Spartiat[es?] (if this is a proper name; but it may, as Boeckh thought, be a title). No. 1254 gives us the following sequence: Cleander, Dion, Theocles, Pericles, Nicippidas, Pasicrates 'the younger' (*νεώτερος*). The recipient or dedicator of the inscription, Damocratidas Agiadae f., who is here *νομοφύλαξ* under Cleander, is found also in a list of *νομοφύλακες*, in *C.I.G.* 1249, Col. IV, which enabled Boeckh to restore the first two lines of that inscription *ἐπὶ Κλεάνδρου νομοφ.* No. 1256 is important, for it gives us valuable information with regard to the Eponymi of a slightly later date, probably *ca.* 180, and also an instance of an unsuccessful attempt by Boeckh to emend Fourmont's text. In ll. 10, 11 *Κορινθᾶς Νεικηφόρου* is recorded by Fourmont as *σύνδικος | ἐπὶ θεοῦ Λυκούργου, κ.τ.λ.* Boeckh deleted the *ἐπί* and read *σύνδικος | θεοῦ Λυκούργου*, a phrase which occurs above in Fourmont's copy of ll. 2, 3. But I have no doubt whatever

[1] The fact that these two stones join was pointed out in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 210, where the corrected version of the inscription was published, after being refound in 1907.

that Boeckh chose the wrong course,[1] and that Fourmont omitted ἐπί in l. 2, rather than inserted it needlessly in l. 11. For even a brief experience of epigraphical studies is sufficient to prove that an ignorant copyist like Fourmont is far more likely to omit letters than to insert letters which do not exist on the stone. If this conjecture needed any support it might be pointed out that l. 2 is suspiciously short compared with ll. 1 and 3, but our knowledge of the patronomate of θεὸς Λυκοῦργος, which Boeckh did not possess, would alone suffice to justify our supplying ἐπί in l. 2. It was only through unpardonable carelessness that I overlooked this piece of evidence for the existence of the patronomate of the divine Lycurgus in writing in last year's *Annual*,[2] through reading only Boeckh's transcript, without either Fourmont's copy or Boeckh's commentary. I can only say that other commentators on Spartan inscriptions have likewise accepted without hesitation, Boeckh's emendation of the text of Fourmont, and have invented the post of σύνδικος θεοῦ Λυκούργου[3] on the evidence of this inscription alone, but I think that its claim to existence has been absolutely disproved. The evidence for the names of the Eponymi in this inscription is consequently this: Lycurgus (*iterum*), [C.] Julius Panthales, under whom Tib. Claudius Nicias held office, and Lycurgus (? *primum*), Cossaeus, [C.] Julius Panthales, and Longinus, under whom Corinthas Nicephori f. held office. This stone will be referred to again, as it gives us valuable *data*. Nos. 1257 + 1276 give us the following names: Pratonicus, Damonicidas, Polyeuctus, Julius Sosicrates, Pasicrates (νεώτερος), and from No. 1259 we obtain the following names: [C.] Julius Panthales, Cl. Brasidas, Julius Agathocles, and Aristocrates Firmi f. From the combination of Nos. 1250, 1254, and 1257 + 1276 we gather the following information, that Pericles was earlier than Pratonicus, and that, consequently, all the names in Nos. 1257 + 1276 are to be inserted between those of Pericles and Nicippidas in No. 1254. The only point that is uncertain is the exact position of Nicippidas in the series, which we may provisionally reconstruct thus: Cleander, Dion, Theocles, Pericles, Pratonicus, Nicippidas, Damonicidas, Polyeuctus, Julius Sosicrates,

[1] 'Col. II, vs. 11. prorsus turbatum esse manifestum est. Istud ΕΠΙ initio versus tollendum esse patet collato vs. 2. 3.' It would be easy to give a list of instances in which Boeckh's alterations of Fourmont's correct copies were equally unfortunate; for a good example see *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 132, with reference to *C.I.G.* 1328.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 112 foll.

[3] See Tod, *S.M.C.* p. 16, § 22.

Pasicrates (*νεώτερος*). That Damocratidas Agiadae f. held only one office namely that under Nicippidas, between the patronomate of Pericles and that of Pasicrates, is a fairly good reason for supposing that not many names are missing from this list, and that these ten names do not represent a period of more than fifteen years. We saw above that the *νομοφύλακες* in the year of Cleander were engraved in Col. IV of *C.I.G.* 1249, so we may assume that he held office not much later than Cassius Aristoteles, the Ephors under whom were recorded in Col. II of that inscription. That Cleander did not precede him is rendered likely, indeed certain, by the fact that none of the persons mentioned in Col. III of that inscription held offices under any of the Eponymi in the list just given. We may also note that Nicippidas Damocratis f., who was *νομοφύλαξ* under Cleander, is in all probability the Eponymus who held office a few years later, and we should have another good reason for not putting the date of Cleander too late, if we identified Hermogenes Glyconis f. who was a *νομοφύλαξ* in his year, with the man of the same name (though the father's name is not given) who was Eponymus *ca.* 130.[1] There is nothing impossible in this identification, for if he held the patronomate as a young man of less than thirty, he might well have been *νομοφύλαξ* when about fifty, but the point is not of the first importance. It is uncertain whether we should date Cleander later than Nedymus, who has been mentioned above as having held office three or more years later than Cassius Aristoteles, or whether the series which begins with the name of Cleander should overlap with the end of the series ending with Nedymus. Our only clue to this question rests on a doubtful restoration, namely in *B.S.A.* xii, p. 472, No. 28, ll. 1, 2, where I am inclined to accept Tillyard's suggestion and to restore N*ομοφύλακες ἐπ*[*ὶ* | *Δί*]*ωνος*, in the light of *C.I.G.* 1254. These same *νομοφύλακες* are also found in *C.I.G.* 1304, in connexion with the erection of a statue to a man who is probably to be recognized as Marcus Aurelius before he succeeded to the throne.[2] If this distinctly questionable evidence be accepted, it will give us 161, the year of the accession of Marcus Aurelius, as a *terminus ante quem* for the year of Dion. That it was not much earlier than this is certain when we remember that we know some twenty names of Eponymi who held office between the end of the reign of Hadrian and the year of Dion. I am inclined, then, to date the latter's tenure of the patronomate to a year between 155 and 160, and, as

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 203, 207.

[2] See above, p. 53, note 2.

will be seen from the list given below, this fits in very well with our requirements for the dating of the other Eponymi in this period. Theocles, whose name follows that of Dion in *C.I.G.* 1254, is probably the *νομοφύλαξ* Πό. Μέμμιος Θεοκλ[ῆς] of *C.I.G.* 1250, though Boeckh did not restore the last two letters. We know also that he was a contemporary of Philocratidas, the Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1248, as his son Theodorus married Callicratia daughter of Philocratidas.[1] Pericles is no doubt Πό. Μέμμιος Περικλῆς, who was *νομοφύλαξ* under Cassius Aristoteles (*C.I.G.* 1241, Col. I, l. 33). We should not confuse him with the Eponymus whose name Boeckh restores in *C.I.G.* 1258 as Κλ.? Περ- - -, for this is a very uncertain restoration, and I have not included this name at all among the Eponymi in this paper. Pratonicus cannot be traced for certain in any inscription except *C.I.G.* 1250 and 1257+1276. Nicippidas, besides being Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1254 and *νομοφύλαξ* in 1249, Col. IV, is in all probability the man to whom Nicocrates Nicocratis f. is *κάσεν* in the second column of the latter inscription. Boeckh's erroneous view of the meaning of *κάσεν* led him to the conclusion that Nicippidas was Eponymus earlier than Callicrates, under whom Nicocrates was *νομοφύλαξ*. We have seen, however, that Nicippidas held that office some ten or more years later than Callicrates. Damonicidas is very likely the man who is found in a list of Ephors in the Sparta Museum (*S.M.C.* 225, l. 6), where Tod restores [Δαμ?]*ονικίδας* Δαμο(κ)- -, and one of his colleagues Πα](σ)*ικράτης* ([Πα]*σικράτεος*) is perhaps the Πασικράτης *νεώτερος* who was Eponymus a few years later than Damonicidas. The father's name should perhaps be altered to Δαμο(ν) - -, as we have a Damonicidas Damonicidae f. in *S.M.C.* 247.[2] Polyeuctus cannot be recognized for certain in any other inscription, though he was very likely to have been the father of Τιβ. Κλαύδιος Σωσικράτης Πολυεύκτου *υἱός* who was victor in the *παιδικὸς ἀγών* in the year of Lysicrates (*B.S.A.* xiii, p. 186, No. 58), alluded to above as Eponymus shortly before this time, and perhaps the Πολύευκτος Διονυσίου who was *γερουσίας* (?) in *S.M.C.* 208. Julius Sosicrates is not known for certain elsewhere, but may perhaps be the Sosicrates found as *γερουσίας* (?) in *S.M.C.* 787, which seems to belong to the second half

[1] See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 126, No. 50. Theodorus Theoclis f. is to be found in *C.I.G.* 1249, Col. I, not as stated by me (*B.S.A. loc. cit.* p. 127, l. 5) in *C.I.G.* 1254.

[2] According to a probable conjecture of Tod's: the last letter is lost, but it was probably followed by the sign <.

of the second century A.D. The name is, however, not rare at Sparta at this time.[1] Pasicrates (*νεώτερος*) may, as I suggested above, be the same as Pasicrates Pasicratis f. who is Ephor in *S.M.C.* 225, and is perhaps son of Pasicrates who was Eponymus in the reign of Hadrian.[2]

There are a few names to insert either in this sequence or immediately after it, before we come to the later sequence in which the first mention is made of the patronomate of *θεὸς Λυκοῦργος*. The first is Gorgippus Gorgippi f., who is known in several inscriptions. Those that mention him as Eponymus are the following: Le Bas-Foucart 162 b (= *S.M.C.* 219); *B.S.A.* xii, p. 368, No. 21; and xiv, p. 77, No. 69, which all relate to the *παιδικὸς ἀγών*. He is also found in Le Bas-Foucart 168 b, as *ἀγορανόμος*; *ibid.* 168 g (= *S.M.C.* 411) as *ἔνσιτος* (to the college of Ephors?); in *C.I.G.* 1251 as *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων*; and *ibid.* 1357 as *γυμνασιάρχης*. In what order he held these offices we cannot say, though Foucart points out that the *ἀγορανομία* usually preceded entry to the senate. I had suggested that his patronomate was not earlier than 190, but this rests on some doubtful evidence.[3] We may at any rate conclude from the names of his colleagues in the post of *ἀγορανόμος*, most of whom are known elsewhere, that he flourished in the last third of the second century. The first of them, C. Julius Corsaeus, is, as Boeckh suggested, very likely to be the Cossaeus who is Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1256, and another, Damion Bellonis f., who is *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων* in *S.M.C.* 411, has as colleague there a man who was *κάσεν* to P. Memmius Longinus, who is likewise Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1256. It is unfortunate that, in spite of all this material, we have no means of fixing exactly the year in which Gorgippus held any of his posts. We know, however, that he was *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων* (*C.I.G.* 1251) in the year of a man who had the Roman *nomen* Memmius, though his other names are lost, and that this Eponymus cannot have been either P. Memmius Pericles or P. Memmius Theocles, as we have in *C.I.G.* 1250 a man who was *νομοφύλαξ* under the former, but whose name does not occur in No. 1251, and in No. 1254 we have similar evidence with regard to Theocles. This renders it quite possible that the Eponymus under whom Gorgippus was *πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων*, was P. Memmius Longinus, who is the only other Eponymus known at about this period with the *nomen*

[1] It is found in *C.I.G.* 1242, l. 17; *S.M.C.* 411, etc.
[2] See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 207.
[3] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 98.

Memmius. But our imperfect knowledge of the *nomina* of the other Eponymi is an objection to our laying emphasis on this identification.

(2) A contemporary of Gorgippus was S. Pompeius Onasicrates, who erected the statue to the former recorded in *C.I.G.* 1357. He was high-priest of the Σεβαστοί, and Boeckh is probably right in suggesting that these were M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus. He was also a colleague of Gorgippus as ἀγορανόμος (Le Bas-Foucart 168 b), and his name is also found on a fragment of an inscribed herm (*S.M.C.* 243); he is perhaps father of Sextus Eudamus Onasicratis f., who is found in *S.M.C.* 544.[1] I have restored his name as Eponymus in *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 187, No. 61, and suggested there that he was Eponymus in the reign of Marcus Aurelius: closer than this we cannot hope to date him.

(3) Agis, whom Boeckh supposed to have been an Eponymus in the fragmentary inscription *C.I.G.* 1266, was in all probability the son of C. Pomponius Alcastus to whom frequent allusion has already been made. In *C.I.G.* 1351 he is honoured with a statue by his nephew Alcastus, and I believe him to have been the same man under whom some one unknown, whose father's name was Callicrates, was πρέσβυς [? γερουσίας] in an inscription found in 1907 (*B.S.A.* xiii, p. 188, No. 40[2]). The fact that he is also found in *C.I.G.* 1249, Col. II, line 13, as the man to whom Euporus is κάσεν does not, as I have shown above, confirm the fact that he was an Eponymus, but is important as giving us an indication of his date, for Euporus is νομοφύλαξ in the year of Callicrates Callicratis f., and the πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων in his year is κάσεν to Nicippidas, to whose patronomate I have alluded above. He was himself νομοφύλαξ under Agetoridas (*C.I.G.* 1240), whose date is *ca.* 150 A.D., and probably Eponymus not long after that year. Though we cannot fix his date exactly, he can hardly have been Eponymus less than twenty or twenty-five years after his father C. Pomponius Alcastus (*ca.* 135), which brings his date to *ca.* 155–160.

(4) P. Aelius Alcandridas, who is found (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 359, No. 2) as Eponymus in a dedication by a boy-victor to Orthia, seems also to have belonged to this epoch. His son, P. Aelius Damocratidas, is

[1] This Eudamus may, however, be later still, as it is to be noted that he is described as μζ' ἀπὸ Διοσκούρων, which would make him later in date than M. Aurelius Aristocrates who in *C.I.G.* 1355 is μδ' ἀπὸ Διοσκούρων: the later inscription belongs, according to Boeckh, to the age of Caracalla. Eudamus may thus belong to the middle of the third century A.D.

[2] See below, p. 105, for a more complete restoration of this inscription than that given there.

Eponymus in a similar dedication (*S.M.C.* 220), and dedicated a statue to M. Aelius Leontas (*C.I.G.* 1363); and probably it is his grandson, Alcandridas Damocratidae f., in whose honour *C.I.G.* 1364 *a* was inscribed. None of these inscriptions gives us an at all exact date, but the last-mentioned may well belong to the age of Caracalla, as Tillyard suggested; in which case Alcandridas the elder would have been Eponymus two generations before that time, and we may therefore place his year not earlier than 150. Had he held office earlier still, we should have expected to find his name occurring in the inscriptions of the period 125–150, where, as a matter of fact, it is never found.

(5) Lysippus Damaeneti f., who is Eponymus in a σφαιρεῖς inscription (*S.M.C.* 400) clearly belongs to this period as well. He is also known to have been γυμνασίαρχος (*C.I.G.* 1354), and, for his activity in the latter capacity, received a statue from a fellow citizen, whom I am inclined to identify with the Agetoridas who appears in *C.I.G.* 1239, Col. III, as Eponymus. This suggests 150–170 as a likely date of Lysippus' career, and necessitates our setting aside Boeckh's suggested date for *C.I.G.* 1354 and for the career of Agetoridas,[1] based on the view, which now appears incorrect, that *C.I.G.* 1353 contained the name of a brother of Lysippus Damaeneti f.,[2] and seemed to belong to the age of Caracalla.

We may now return to the inscriptions which give us the series of names in which θεὸς Λυκοῦργος occurs as Eponymus, as there are no other names which seem to belong, for certain, to an earlier date than this series. *C.I.G.* 1254 gave us the following names: Lycurgus (*iterum*), Panthales: and Lycurgus (*primum*), Cossaeus, Panthales, Longinus. Panthales then held office as Eponymus at least three years later than the first patronomate of Lycurgus, and Longinus, Brasidas, Agathocles, and Aristocrates Firmi f. were later than Panthales. We do not know exactly where Cossaeus belongs in the series, as he may have held office either between the first and second occasions on which θεὸς Λυκοῦργος held it, or after the second. And we cannot be certain exactly where to insert Longinus in the list of names later than the year of Panthales. I shall, however, assume, to avoid lengthy explanations, that Cossaeus or Corsaeus (as was pointed out above, there seem to be two ways of spelling the same man's name) held his patronomate between the two patronomates of the divine Lycurgus, and that Longinus held office between Brasidas and

[1] See his notes to *C.I.G.* 1353, 1354. [2] He was probably grandson or great-nephew.

Agathocles. These attributions cannot be regarded as certain, but in neither case is there room for more than a small degree of error. The order of these names will then be this: Lycurgus (*primum*), Cossaeus, Lycurgus (*iterum*), Panthales, Brasidas, Longinus, Agathocles, Aristocrates. One noteworthy feature of this series of names is that several years clearly elapsed between the first and second and the subsequent occasions of the patronomate of Lycurgus. I showed last year[1] that it is practically certain his fourth to eleventh patronomates were held in successive years, and apparently fell in the period 180–190; but we shall see that this estimate puts it too early, for we have more names than there are years to account for. When his third patronomate fell we have no evidence, but clearly at least six years elapsed between the second and fourth, for we have just given the names of the five Eponymi who followed the second patronomate, and we must allow another year for the third patronomate. Thus we see that the second year of Lycurgus must have been before 180 (for my previous estimate was at least six years too early), and there is reason to suppose that it was earlier still, for there is at least one name of an Eponymus to be added who held office at about this time, and has not yet been mentioned. This is P. Memmius Pratolaus qui et Aristocles Damaris f., who is known from several inscriptions as having been an Eponymus himself as well as ἐπιμελητής of the patronomate of Lycurgus.[2] As we know that he held the latter office while still a young man, his own patronomate can only have been held a very few years previously: that it preceded his tenure of the ἐπιμέλεια is certain, for there is no mention of the latter in the inscription recorded in his honour as (eponymous) Patronomus,[3] whereas inscriptions that mention the ἐπιμέλεια mention his patronomate as well.

Another Eponymus who may quite well have held office between the second and fourth patronomates of Lycurgus is M. Aurelius Nicephorus Philonidae f. We know from the inscription just referred to, that he was a colleague of P. Memmius Pratolaus in his patronomate, and that he was himself Eponymus, appears from a dedication to Orthia by a boy-victor (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 379, No. 45).[4] He received also a statue from his wife for distinguished public service (*C.I.G.* 1379), and contributed to the cost of

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 121, *ad fin.*
[2] *Ibid.* p. 106, No. 5; and see p. 116 for a restoration of *C.I.G.* 1341.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 109, No. 6.
[4] See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 99 for another fragment of the same inscription.

setting up some statues (*B.C.H.* ix, p. 515, No. 6). If then we insert his year and that of Pratolaus earlier than the year of the fourth patronomate of Lycurgus, we must move back our *terminus ante quem* for the second patronomate of Lycurgus, two years earlier, which will give us 178 as a date for the latter, and 176 as the date for his first patronomate. Earlier than this we can hardly place them, as we seem to have as many Eponymi as years for the period 135–175.

In view of this evidence for the first patronomate of Lycurgus we may return for a moment to *C.I.G.* 1244 and *S.M.C.* 215, which give us fragmentary lists of Ephors ἐπὶ Λυκούργου. This, as I stated last year,[1] is not likely to mean θεὸς Λυκοῦργος, but I purposely did not mention these inscriptions until after fixing the earliest patronomate of the divine Lycurgus. We now see that on chronological grounds the identification is practically impossible, for the Lycurgus of these inscriptions seems to have held office *ca.* 150 A.D., and this cannot be made to fit in with the first patronomate of his divine namesake, without some radical alteration of the text in *C.I.G.* 1256, such as the insertion of τὸ β′ in ll. 10, 11. This would of course mean that both mentions of the year of θεὸς Λυκοῦργος referred to his second patronomate, and would enable us, if we required it, to identify his first patronomate with that mentioned in *C.I.G.* 1244, and *S.M.C.* 215. But this is quite unnecessary, and I prefer to believe that the Eponymus in these two inscriptions was not θεὸς Λυκοῦργος, and the absence of the word θεός confirms this theory. Of the men who held office in the year of Lycurgus, the πρέσβυς ἐφόρων, as we see in *S.M.C.* 215, is Aristotimus Aristotimi f., who was πρέσβυς βιδέων (*S.M.C.* 627) under Claudius Aristobulus, *ca.* 132 A.D. The βίδεοι seem, as a rule, to be young men, and it is quite possible that some twenty years elapsed between these two offices of Aristotimus. He is not known elsewhere. Nicasippus Euemeri f. appears in *C.I.G.* 1247 as νομοφύλαξ in some year after the accession of Antoninus Pius, in the year in which C. Pomponius Alcastus is πρέσβυς of that college. We cannot recognize any of the other names of the Ephors, though there is some probability that the man whose name ended in -es, and who bore the same name as his father, and recorded that he was συνέφηβος to Sidectas, was also one of the νομοφύλακες in *C.I.G.* 1247 who recorded the same distinction. The other names in this inscription are too fragmentary to provide a possibility of certain restoration, and we can only

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 115.

say that the Eponymus who was called Lycurgus seems to have held office in the decade 140–150, and is to be distinguished from his divine namesake.

Among the names of the Eponymi who were later than the second patronomate of *θεὸς Λυκοῦργος* are several which may be traced elsewhere. Longinus is no doubt the P. Memmius Longinus to whom, as was pointed out above, Cleomachus Cleomachi f. was *κάσεν* (*S.M.C.* 411). As it is a rare name at Sparta, it is perhaps the same man whose name is found in two other much mutilated inscriptions in the Sparta Museum (*S.M.C.* 238, and 623). Brasidas is no doubt the Tib. Claudius Brasidas whose name Tillyard restores in a dedication by a boy-victor to Orthia (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 374, No. 36), and Tod plausibly conjectures as that of the Eponymus in a *σφαιρεῖς* inscription (*ibid.* xiii, p. 217, No. 3). He is, I think, to be identified with the younger of the two men of this name (father and son) in the *stemma* published last year.[1] In *S.M.C.* 648 and 691 his son receives a statue, and *S.M.C.* 85, which is inscribed on the base of a statue, records a dedication of a statue to Brasidas himself by one or more of his children,[2] and in *C.I.G.* 1329 he erects a statue to a fellow-citizen. Agathocles was supposed by Boeckh to be the C. Julius Agathocles, son of Hippothales,[3] who received a statue, as *πατρονόμος*, from his daughter, but it is just possible that this is not the Eponymus of *C.I.G.* 1259, for we have a different Agathocles, namely the son of Cleophantus, who is Eponymus in the *σφαιρεῖς* inscription *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 216, No. 2. And there seems considerable probability that he too bore the Roman *nomen* Julius, for we know of a C. Julius Cleophantus (*S.M.C.* 247) who was probably this man's father. But Agathocles Cleophanti f. seems to have held office earlier in the second century than his namesake the son of Hippothales (or Hippothra(s)es), for *Φιλέρως Θεοξένου*, the *διαβέτης* in his year, is probably, as Tod suggested, the man who was *πρέσβυς ἐφόρων* in the year of Tib. Claudius Aristoteles (*C.I.G.* 1243), whose patronomate fell *ca.* 150 A.D. This would imply that Agathocles the son of Cleophantus, was Eponymus in the first half of the first century, and his name should accordingly be added to those who held office shortly after the death of Hadrian. This

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 123.

[2] Though this may be a statue of the elder Brasidas, the father.

[3] *Ἱπποθάλους* is Boeckh's emendation of Fourmont's copy *Ἰ]πποθράους*: but the latter name which = *Ἱπποθράσους*, is known at Sparta (*S.M.C.* 241), so Fourmont is probably once again more correct than his corrector.

leaves little room for doubt that the other Agathocles, the recipient of the statue in *C.I.G.* 1329, is, after all, the Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1259. As to Aristocrates the son of Firmus, we know nothing.

These names do not exhaust all those of the Eponymi who may belong to the second century, but there are no more names which can be confidently assigned to the period 135–180, so it will be convenient to draw up a list, in chronological order as far as possible, to summarize the discussion contained in the preceding pages. I will take as a starting point Hadrian's second visit to Sparta, so as to link the fresh material on to that published two years ago. It will be understood that the order of the Eponymi must in many cases be regarded as merely provisional.

	Seitimus	128
	Hermogenes	129
	Lysippus Mnasonis f.	130
	Damocles Philocratis f.	131–135
5	Aristocles	
	Tib. Claudius Aristobulus	
	M. Ulpius Aphthonetus	
	Tib. Claudius Atticus	
	Aristonicidas.	136
10	C. Pomponius Alcastus . . .	137

AFTER 137 A.D.

	C. Julius Eudamus	
	Nicephorus	
	P. Memmius Spartiaticus	
	Eudamidas	
15	Tib. Cl. Sejanus	
	Aristocrates (may have preceded Sejanus)	
	Biadas	
	Callicrates Callicratis f.	
	Charax	
20	Brasidas	(may be slightly earlier)
	Areton	
	Cassius Aristoteles	
	Agathocles Cleophanti f.	(dates uncertain, but probably before 150 A.D.)
	Callicrates Rufi f.	
25	Tib. Claudius Aristoteles	
	Lycurgus	

Titianus
Agetoridas
Xenarchidas
30 Nedymus
C. Julius Philocratidas (may be earlier still)
Timomenes
Lysippus Damaeneti f.
C. Julius Lysicrates
35 P. Aelius Alcandridas
C. Pomponius Agis
(dates uncertain, but may be later)
Cleander (may be earlier than Nos. 27–30)
Dion (probably before 161 A.D.)
P. Memmius Theocles
40 P. Memmius Pericles
Pratonicus
Nicippidas
Damonicidas
Polyeuctus
45 C. Julius Sosicrates
Pasicrates (*νεώτερος*)
(in probable chronological order)
Gorgippus Gorgippi f.
S. Pompeius Onasicrates
(exact position in series uncertain)
Θεὸς Λυκοῦργος (α′)
50 Corsaeus (Cossaeus)
Θεὸς Λυκοῦργος (β′)
C. Julius Panthales
Tib. Claudius Brasidas
P. Memmius Longinus
55 C. Julius Agathocles Hippothra(s)is f.
Aristocrates Firmi f.
(in probable chronological order)
M. Aurelius Nicephorus Philonidae f. (may be later than No. 67)
P. Memmius Pratolaus, qui et Aristocles (exact position uncertain)
Θεὸς Λυκοῦργος (γ′)
60–67 *Θεὸς Λυκοῦργος (δ′–ια′)* (*ca.* 188–195 A.D.)

We thus have fifty-eight certain names of Eponymi for the period which begins in 128 A.D., and as we have no means of telling whether there may not still be a name or two lacking, we arrive at 186 as a *terminus post quem* for the third patronomate of the divine Lycurgus, with the possibility of this estimate being a few years too early. We cannot hope that the order of these Eponymi will prove to be final,

but it provides us with a fairly fixed system for dating many of the dedications by boy-victors in the παιδικὸς ἀγών, which was the primary purpose of the compilation of this list. It shows us also, that several of the inscriptions of this series must be dated later than 190 A.D., namely all that contain the names of Eponymi who have the *praenomen* and *nomen* Marcus Aurelius, who have not been mentioned in my list; among these we may reckon for certain Nos. *c*, *d*, 18*, 24*, 55, and 57.

The Dating of the Inscriptions of the παιδικὸς ἀγών.

As it is now unlikely that further inscriptions belonging to this class will be found in any numbers, it will be worth while to attempt to draw up a chronological list of all those which furnish any clue whatsoever by which they may be dated. The earliest of the series is clearly No. 48*, which, to judge from the style of the lettering, can hardly be later than the fourth century B.C. No. 47*, on the same grounds, may be earlier than the first century B.C., but its lettering, with its neat wedge-shaped strokes, is unlike that of any other stone in this class. No. 50, a fragment of a metrical dedication, is perhaps also earlier than 100 B.C. on the evidence of the small and neat lettering. Of the inscriptions which we may allot with confidence to the first century B.C., several contain names found in other Spartan inscriptions, which have been noted in the publication of each, and this evidence need not be quoted again here. They are Nos. 3, 26, 35, (62, 64),[1] 66, (72), 75, 78, and 79. These cannot be dated absolutely, but we may conclude (1) that 66 is earlier than 3, for Damippus Aboleti f. is victor in the one and Eponymus in the other. (2) That 75 is earlier than 35, for the victor in the former is probably father of the victor in the latter. (3) That 35, 66, and 78 should be grouped together, as the name of the same Eponymus, Kynagetas, seems to occur in each. (4) That 79 is slightly later than 3, if my assumption is correct that Σίων Δαμίππου, the victor in the former, is son of Δάμιππος Ἀβολήτου, the Eponymus in the latter.

With regard to the inscriptions belonging to the first century A.D. we are very much in the dark, though there are a few which we may attribute without any hesitation to this period. Nos. 31 and 60, in which Laco

[1] Figures enclosed in curved brackets imply that the dating of the inscription to which they refer is doubtful.

occurs as Eponymus, clearly belong to it, though the exact dating of these two stones is difficult.[1] No. 76 would belong probably to the age of Vespasian, if the victor, who bears the rare name Nicippus, is the man who appears as an official in the Leonidea inscription (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 453, No. 2 B), which belongs to the close of the first century A.D. I would also attribute No. 40 to somewhat the same time as 76, as I believe that the victor is a contemporary of that Menecles who was Eponymus in about 98 A.D., consequently Primus and Menecles would have been boys together (for this is what *κάσεν* means, as I have pointed out above) in about the reign of Vespasian. Nos. 1, 15, and 74 may belong to the last decade of the first, or the first decade of the second century A.D. There are a few more inscriptions, for which we have little or no prosopographical evidence, which may very well belong to the first century, partly from the style of the lettering and absence of archaizing formulae, and partly from the absence of Roman *praenomina* and *nomina*, namely Nos. *j* (= *C.I.G.* 1416), 4, 10, 13, 56, 62, 70, and 94.

When we come to consider the inscriptions which belong to the second century A.D. we find ourselves on safer ground, and many may be confidently attributed to the years of the Eponymi of whom I have given a list. To the year of Hermogenes (*2*),[2] belong Nos. *f*, and 77; to that of Lysippus (*3*), 19*; to that of Aristocles (*5*), 16; to that of Aphthonetus (*7*), 12; to that of Atticus (*8*), *h*, and 95; to that of Alcastus (*10*), 32; to that of Sejanus (*15*), 11 and 73; to that of Biadas (*17*), 96; to that of Brasidas (*20*), 97; to that of Callicrates (*24*), 6; to that of Timomenes (*32*), 38; to that of Lysicrates (*34*), 58; to that of Alcandridas (*35*), 2; to that of Theocles (*39*), 71; to that of Gorgippus (*47*), *b*, 21, and 69; to that of Onasicrates (*48*), 61; to that of Brasidas (*53*), 36; to that of Nicephorus (*57*), 45; to that of Lycurgus *τὸ δ'* (*60*), 53; to that of Lycurgus *τὸ ια'* (*67*), 85. This means that we have records of victories under twenty different

[1] No. 31 is not to be dated so early as I thought at one time (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 372, note), if, as I am convinced, Tillyard is right in identifying Enymantiadas, to whom the victor is *κάσεν*, with the man of that name to whom Hierocles is *κάσεν* in *S.M.C.* 212 (shortly after 100 A.D.). If Hierocles was *γερουσίας ca.* 100–110, his contemporaries Enymantiadas and Thrasybulus, the victor here, would have been born *ca.* 60 A.D., so this stone can hardly be earlier than 70 A.D. This involves the supposition that the two Eponymi mentioned in it are son and grandson of that C. Julius Laco who was prominent under Claudius (*B.S.A.* xii. *loc. cit.*) and who cannot have been still alive at this time. So there must have been three persons of this name: the youngest is no doubt the one mentioned in *C.I.G.* 1347, which belongs clearly to the second century A.D.

[2] Italic figures in curved brackets refer to the numbers allotted to the Eponymi in my list.

Eponymi in the period 128–195, represented by twenty-five different stones. There may be other inscriptions to add to this particular group, as the metrical dedication No. 5, which belongs to the year of Aristoteles, may refer to either of the two Eponymi of this name (*22* or *25*), but may possibly belong to an earlier date altogether, and No. 14, in which no Eponymus is mentioned, is perhaps the record of the victory of the son of Hermogenes (*2*). The other inscriptions which may be definitely classed as later are Nos. *c*, *d*, 18*, 24*, 55, and 57.

We may tabulate these results in the following manner:—

Fourth	Century	B.C.	. . . . .	48*.
Second	„	„	. . . . .	47*, 50.
First	„	„	(early in)	75.
First	„	„	(before middle of) .	26, 35, 66, 78.
First	„	„	(after middle of) . .	3, 64, 72, 79.
First	„	A.D.	(after middle of) . .	31, 60.
First	„	„	(Flavian era) . . .	40, 76.
First	„	„	(last decade) . . .	1, 15, 74.
First	„	„	(uncertain)	*a*, *j*, 4, 10, 13, 56, 62, 70, 94.
Second	„	„	(Hadrianic era). . .	*f*, *h*, 12, 14, 16, 19*, 32, 77, 95.
Second	„	„	(138–155)	5, 6, 11, 73, 96, 97.
Second	„	„	(155–170)	2, 38, 58, 71.
Second	„	„	(170–195)	*b*, 21, 36, 45, 53, 61, 69, 85.
Second and third centuries		A.D.	(195–225) .	*c*, *d*, 24*, 55, 57.
Third	century	A.D.	(after 225)	18*.

The other stones, which are too fragmentary to enable us to date them with any degree of certainty, number forty-three. Of these the following fourteen seem to belong to the second century A.D., or later: *e*, 22, 33, 34, 37, 43, 46, 63, 65, 67, 82, 84, 98, 99; while the following are quite hopeless, being in some cases only the merest fragments: *g*, 7, 8, 9, 17, 25, 27, 28, 39, 41, 42, 44, 49, 51, 52, 54, 59, 68, 80, 81, 83, and 86–93. Most of these seem to belong to the first century A.D. rather than to the second, from the absence, as far as we can see, of archaistic expressions, but they do not merit any further description or comment.

It merely remains to add that the archaizing language in these dedications appears occasionally as early as the reign of Hadrian, *e.g.* in Nos. 12 and 32, and its use is not more frequent than that of the ordinary phraseology until after 170, when it becomes the rule rather than the

exception, though in No. 18*, which seems to be the latest of the series, there is a reversion to the normal language.

(3) INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LATE-ROMAN WALLS AND OTHER SITES.

From the Late-Roman Walls.

A systematic examination on the north and east sides of the *enceinte* of the late-Roman walls of the Acropolis did not yield epigraphical results of great value, with the exception of the find of seventeen inscriptions copied by Fourmont, which are described below. Of the other stones one which is of interest is a fragment of a decree, probably of Imperial times, but we cannot restore its contents with any great success. The other finds were either the merest fragments, some of which recorded *cursus honorum*, or valueless *graffiti* rather than inscriptions roughly scratched on some blocks built into the wall on its north-west face.[1] In several places fallen masonry made excavation impossible, notably at the north-east corner of the walls, and at a spot just to the west of the trench where the Fourmont inscriptions were found. With regard to the finds from other parts of the site, a block in the wall on the east side of the old trench in the theatre was found to bear an inscription on its lower face, showing that it once supported an honorary statue, and the only other inscribed stones which are worthy of mention are the few small fragments from the Menelaion, the inscription on the foot of the broken hero-relief found on the eastern hill outside the wall of the Acropolis, and the interesting archaic dedication by an athletic victor, which was found in the summer of 1908 on a private estate in Sparta.

70[2] (2674). Fragment of a curved base, of soft white marble, found close to the N.E corner of late-Roman wall. Complete below only. ·20 × ·27. Letters ·025 high, with large *apices*.

_ΚΟΣ	- σ]κος - -
ΓΟΣΦΙΛΙΣ	- τ]ος Φιλισ- -
^ΗΜΟΣΙΟΙΑΓ	- [δ]ημόσιοι 'Α[π or γ- -

For δημόσιοι at Sparta see *B.S.A.* xii, p. 473, No. 30.

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. VII (General Plan), **L 12**, **M 12**.
[2] The numbering is carried on from *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 139.

71 (2679). Fragment of white marble found close to No. 70. Complete above only. ·065 × ·01 × ·05. Letters ·016 high.

ϽΣ<ΓΕ	- - -]ος (- - ου) γ[εροντεύσας
ΓΕΝΟΜ	καὶ ? πρέσβυς] γενόμ[ενος ἐπὶ - -
⊤ΠΙΚΛΗΙ	- - - ἐ]πὶ Κλη[νικ- -

Exact restoration and division into lines are impossible, but some such restoration as the above is to be adopted, to account for γενόμ[ενος] in l. 2. The inscription, *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 188, No. 40, is to be restored in a similar way, as is pointed out below, p. 105. For Spartan names beginning with Κλην- compare Κληνίκης (*S.M.C.* 214), Κληνικίδας (*ibid.* 205, 214), Κλήνικος (*ibid.* 207). This is the first mention of an Eponymus with a name of this kind.

72 (2692). Fragment broken on all sides, found in trench among the Fourmont inscriptions. ·18 × ·13 × ·03. Letters ·03 high, except Φ which has a very long vertical stroke.

ρυι	(?) Ἔφ]ο[ροι]
ΝΥΣ	Διο]νυσ[ιο-
ϕΙΛϹ	Φιλ[ο- -

The first letter of l. 1 was clearly Φ.

73 (2693). Fragment of grey marble. Complete below only, found *ibid.* ·27 × ·19 × ·27. Letters ·03 high, with large *apices*.

ΣΤΟΥΛ	- - μεγ]ίστου [Ἀ - -
ΡΟΣΥΙΟΛ	αὐτοκράτο]ρος υἱὸ[ν τὸν
⊤ΤΑΝ	εὐεργέ]ταν

The restoration is doubtful, as l. 2 may contain the word [Καίσα]ρος not [αὐτοκράτο]ρος. But the inscription is clearly a dedication to some member of the Imperial family; the Α in l. 1 may be the beginning of the father's name, perhaps Ἀ[δριανοῦ] or Ἀ[ντωνείνου], but we cannot be sure.

74 (2694). Fragment of a grey marble gable-topped stele complete above and on the right, found some distance to the west of the previous Nos.[1] ·135 × ·135 × ·07. Letters *ca.* ·02 high.

[1] General Plan M 12.

ΩΜΩΝ	[- - ή]μων
ΝΟΙ	[ἐμ πολέμω]ι

There is no doubt as to the *μ* in l. 2, but the next letter may have been *ο* or *ω*. The above seems the obvious restoration.[1] L. 1 probably contained fewer letters than l. 2, as they are spaced more generously, so the name may have been *e.g.* [Φιλή]μων. Date, fourth century B.C.

75 (2695). Small fragment of grey marble broken on all sides, found some distance to the west of the above. ·09 × ·12 × ·07. Letters *ca.* ·02, with florid *apices*.

ΣΟ	- - - - εο (or εθ) - -
ΘΕΝΗ	- - σ]θένη[ς - - -
ΑΡΤΟΣ	- - αρτοσ - - -
ΤΟΙΣ	- - τ]οι[ς - -

Hopeless, except for some name ending in *-σθένης* (nominative or accusative) in l. 2.

76 (2677). Fragment of greyish marble complete on r. only, found in field west of the above. ·15 × ·13 × ·12. Letters ·029 high.

ΙΟΥ	- - ου - -
ΠΟΥ	- - που - -
ΟΝΟΣ	- - ο]νος - -

77 (2707). On a large roughly-dressed block built upside down into late-Roman wall close to find-spot of No. 74. ·80 × 1·24. Letters ·32 and ·42 high respectively.

ΟΥ

The inscription is complete.

78 (2708). On a similar block, *ibid.* ·84 × 1·24. Letters ·05 — ·12 high.

ΑΡΟΥ

79 (2709). On a similar block a few metres further east. ·80 × 1·45. Letters ·23 high.

ΛΥ

[1] See *S.M.C.* Introd. § 32.

80 (2710). On a large block built in *ca.* 60 metres to the west of Nos. 77, 78. ·76 × 1·48. Letters ·10 – ·20 high, rough and irregular.

ΛΙΚΡΑ////ΤΟΥϹ Κα]λλικράτους
ᴠΑΡΙϹΤ⌒ΤΕ^ϹΛΗ 'Αριστ[ο]τέλης.

The first sign in l. 2 is presumably the first λ of [Κα]λλικράτους. The final ς of l. 2 had to be inserted over the top, as the η is at the edge of the stone. For the practice of writing short inscriptions from the bottom line upwards see Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur gr. Inschriftenkunde*, pp. 3 foll., 303.

81 (2711). On a long block with a concave sinking ·20 high, *ibid.* ·90 × 2·25. Letters *ca.* ·20 high, roughly scratched.

ΚΛVΔΙᴬΘVΡΑϹ Κλυδία θύρας.

The last sign is uncertain and may be only accidental. If not, we may suppose that κλυδία = κλειδία, and that we have an allusion to the keys of some gate, perhaps intended humorously. The use of υ for ει in late Greek inscriptions is not unparalleled.[1]

82 (2712 *a*, *b*). Two fragments of a large base: *a* is complete above only, *b* is complete above and on the right. Found built into the wall near find-spot of No. 75. *a* measures ·125 × ·08 × ·05; *b*, ·105 × ·26 × ·18. Letters ·03 high with traces of red paint.

(*a*) ϽΣ (*b*) ϽΜΗΣΑΣ
ᴧ⊜⁻ ᴵᴵΟΥΑᴧ
⁻Ϲ

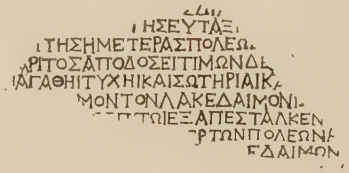
Several letters are missing on the left of *a*, and there was no doubt a large interval between these two fragments on the original base. We may perhaps see in *a*, l. 1 part of the name of the man whose office is described in *b*, l. 1, and restore thus [- - - ο]ς [- - (?)πατρον]ομήσας | [- - - λ]οσ[- - ί]ου 'Αλ|[- - - ο - -. In *a*, l. 2 the line over the ⊜ seems to denote an abbreviation, but we cannot tell what. In *b*, l. 1 we may equally well restore ἀγοραν]ομήσας, and in *b*, l. 2 we have perhaps the remains of the phrase [ἐπὶ - -]ίου 'Αλ|[κάστου *vel sim.*]. This stone clearly was a base recording a *cursus honorum*.

[1] See Jannaris, *Hist. Gr. Grammar*, p. 48, § 35, where it is pointed out that the promiscuous use of υ for ει, η, and ι is frequent as early as the first century B.C., and becomes increasingly common later.

83 (2713). Fragment of grey marble found in trench, *ibid.* Complete on r. only. ·095 × ·115 × ·03. Letters ·016 high with *apices.*

ΙΔΑ	- - - - *ἀδα*
ΤΑΡΑ	- - - - *π]αρα*
¬ΛΤΟΥΑΓΟ	- - - *τά]του ἀγο-*
Σ	*[ρανόμου ?* - -]ς.

84 (2705). Fragment of bluish marble broken on all sides, found in trench on north side of Acropolis proper. ·12 × ·29 × ·22. Letters ·009 high, with *apices.*



- - - - - - - - ς] *δι*- - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - *τ]ης εὐταξί[ας* - - - - - - -
- - - *ι] τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεω[ς* - - - -
- -*ὅπως ἂν ὁ δῆμος* - - *χ]άριτος ἀποδόσει τιμῶν δε[ικνύηται (?)τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτόν,*
5 - - *ι]ἀγαθῆι τύχηι καὶ σωτηρίαι κα[ὶ* - - *ἔδοξε* or *δεδόχθαι*
(?)ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δῆ]μον τὸν Λακεδαιμονί[ων - -
- - - - - - - - - - - *ί]ππωι ἐξαπέσταλκεν* - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *ὑπὲ]ρ τῶν πόλεων α*- -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - *Λακε]δαιμον[ι*- -
10 -

Clearly part of a decree, which, to judge by the lettering, might be of the first century B.C., or possibly of early Imperial times. There is unfortunately no means of recovering either its purport, or the length of the lines, and it is probable that even at its widest we have not half the breadth of the original stele preserved. The thickness of the stone (·22)[1] suggests that it may have been a cube of marble inscribed on more than one side. There can be little doubt that some such restoration as

[1] As it is broken at the back, the thickness was perhaps much more than ·22.

that suggested in ll. 4–6 is to be adopted, though we cannot be sure of the exact wording.

L. 2. Nothing is certain except τ]ῆς εὐταξί[ας, as we have no clue to the context. The word is not rare in the sense of 'orderly conduct,' and is sometimes coupled with such words as κοσμιότης or εὐσέβεια.[1] It is also found in inscriptions in the sense of drilling and general supervision in the gymnasium.[2]

L. 3. Perhaps περ]ὶ, but it is not quite certain that the first letter was *iota*.

L. 4. This is clearly part of the hortative clause: I have supplied ὁ δῆμος to account for the masculine participle τιμῶν, and δε- is presumably some part of the subjunctive middle or passive of δείκνυμι. The usual verb in such expressions in decrees is φαίνομαι or φανερὸς εἰμί,[3] or some such use as ὅπως εἰδῶσιν ἅπαντες (*I.G.* ii, 1. 115 *b*, 251; Michel, *Recueil*, 396, etc.). I know no certain parallel for the phrase χάριτος ἀποδόσει τιμᾶν in decrees, for χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι is much more usual than a periphrasis with χάριτος ἀπόδοσις. We may, however, compare an elaborate expression from an inscription at Sestos, ἵνα οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνηται τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τιμῶν - - καὶ ἐν χάριτος ἀποδόσει μὴ λείπηται,[4] κ.τ.λ.

L. 5. For elaborations of the ordinary words ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ to introduce the resolution proper, see Larfeld, *op. cit.* p. 484. Σωτηρία is one of the words usually employed on these occasions, and sometimes all the other abstract blessings are alluded to.[5] We do not know how many more words of the sort followed σωτηρία here.

L. 7. The first two letters are uncertain, but I have little doubt that the fourth was π: this suggests that the second was *iota*, and that this is the end of a name in the dative case. For ἐξαπέσταλκεν, which seems to mean 'has sent formally' (the verb is frequently found in this sense), we may compare the use of the same verb with θεωρούς in an inscription at Delphi (Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 295, l. 8). Further restoration of our inscription is impossible.

[1] εὐταξία καὶ κοσμιότης, cf. *I.G.* ii, 5. 563 *b* (=Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 519), ll. 31, 40, 58; for εὐταξία καὶ εὐσέβεια, cf. *I.G.* ii, 1. 467 (=Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 251), l. 48.

[2] Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 935, l. 7.

[3] Larfeld, *Handbuch der gr. Epigraphik*, i, pp. 504 foll.

[4] Dittenb. *O.G.I.* 339, ll. 86 foll. Cf. also *I.G.* ix, 2, 1114 *b*, ll. 7, 8, and *I.G.* ii, 1. 464, l. 8 for mutilated remains of a similar impression.

[5] *E.g.* Michel, *op. cit.* 731, ll. 10, 11: ἀγαθῆι τύχηι, ἐπὶ ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς πᾶσι δεδόχθαι; cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.* pp. 318, 319.

85 (2676). Base of greyish marble, found built face downwards into a wall in the stage-buildings of the theatre. ·78 × ·50 × ·46. Letters ·0375 high, with *apices*.

ΑΠΟΛΙΣ Ε	Α πόλις
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΚΑ	Ἀριστοκράτη Κα-
ΜΙΛΛΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ////	μίλλου δικαιοσ[ύ]-
ΝΑΣΚΑΙΤΑΣΑΛΛΑΣ	νας καὶ τᾶς ἄλλας
ΑΡΕΤΑΣΧΑΡΙΝΤΟΑ	ἀρετᾶς χάριν, τὸ ἀ-
ΝΑΛΩΜΑΠΡΟΣΔΕ	νάλωμα προσδε-
ΞΑΜΕΝΑΣΔΙΑΦΙΛΑΝ	ξαμένας διὰ φιλαν-
ΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ	δρίαν τᾶς γυναικὸς
ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΣΤΑΣ	Σωσικρατείας τᾶς
ΚΛΕΩΔΑΜΟΥ Φ	Κλεωδάμου. Φ
Υ	Υ

Ἀριστοκράτης Καμίλλου is found also in a list of Spartan magistrates (probably γέροντες) early in the second century A.D. (*S.M.C.* 248). His wife is unknown: the name Κλεόδαμος is known at Sparta (*S.M.C.* 207), but the form Κλεώδαμος is new. The meaning of the last two letters is uncertain: they may have nothing to do with the original inscription.

From the Neighbourhood of Sparta.

86 (2672). On a fragment of an archaic hero-relief, found covering a Byzantine grave on the ridge to the east of the late-Roman *enceinte*.[1] The inscription is cut from right to left on a flat band below the relief proper. Dimensions ·26 × ·53 × ·10. Letters ·05 high.

ΛΟΛΙ [Χ]ίλον.

One letter is lost from before the *iota*, and there can be little doubt that it was Χ. This relief must presumably be connected with the shrine of the Hero-Sage Chilon which Pausanias mentions,[2] and it is regrettable that the provenance of the relief gives us no clue to the identification of the site of his Heroön, for we cannot tell at all from where it was

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. VIII (General Plan) **M 14**. [2] iii, 16, 4.

brought. No other remains of antiquity were found in the immediate neighbourhood.

87 (953 in Sparta Museum). The following inscription was found during the summer of 1908 in the course of agricultural operations on the land of Messrs. Leopoulos at the north end of the modern town of Sparta, within some fifty yards' distance of the so-called Tomb of Leonidas.[1] It has been recently published by Mr. G. Kapsalis, Γυμνασιάρχης at Sparta, together with a photograph, but as his publication[2] is scarcely likely to be accessible outside Greece I think that the high interest of the stone warrants its republication here. It is a stele[3] of greyish marble, complete on all sides except below, but the surface is damaged in several places and several letters are irrecoverable. Above the inscription is a low and flat crescent-shaped relief,[4] created by cutting down the background round the edges of the design, and on the upper surface of the stele are cut two shallow holes, no doubt to support some small *ἀνάθημα*, probably the *ἄγαλμα* mentioned in l. 2. The letters, which measure on an average ·018 m. in height, are cut with considerable care and regularity. They are arranged *βουστροφηδόν*, and it is noticeable that the last letter of each line is inclined over nearly at right-angles so as to carry the eye on more easily to the next line. Each line of the inscription is separated from the next by a line carefully ruled across the stone, and curving round at the edge of the stone to meet the edge of the next line but one, as the squeeze plainly shows in the case of ll. 1 and 3.[5] The shapes of the letters point, as Mr. Kapsalis states, to the late sixth century, as the *sigma* here never has more than four strokes, and except in l. 1, never more than three. In l. 6 it has both the forms ϟ and ϟ, so clearly the engraver had no exact view as to the form it should have. Further, the form ⊙ for ○ is hitherto unknown in Spartan inscriptions.[6]

[1] See *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. VIII (General Plan) J 15.

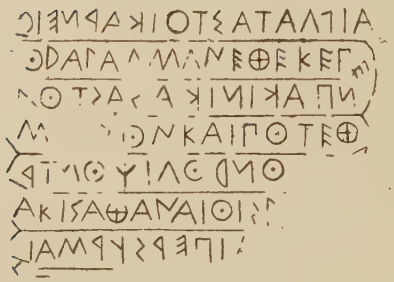
[2] Τεσσαρακονταετηρὶς τῆς Καθηγεσίας Κ. Σ. Κόντου [Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1909], pp. 275–282.

[3] Dimensions: ·47 × ·31 × ·11.

[4] The surface of the stone being rather worn, the exact outlines are not easy to trace, but the relief seems to represent a pair of ram's horns somewhat unskilfully rendered; but see below.

[5] For this arrangement cf. another archaic Spartan inscription, Roehl, *I.G.P.*, 54 (=*Imagines*,[3] p. 98, No. 5).

[6] In l. 1, in the word τοῖ there is no dot in the centre of the O, nor apparently is there in the O in Καρνείοι at the end of this line. This seems intentional, to distinguish ω from ο. The converse usage (○ = ο, ⊙ = ω) is found on an early inscription at Thera (Roehl, *op. cit.* 451 = Roberts, *Introd. to Gk. Epigraphy*, No. 2).



We may transliterate thus:—

Αἰγλάτας τôι Καρνείο[ι]
[τ]όδ' ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθεκε, πε-
νπάκι νικάσας τὸ[ν]
μ[ακρ]ὸν καὶ ποτέθ[ε]-
5 [κε τ]ὸν δολιχὸν τρι-
άκις Ἀθαναίοις δ . . . .
. . . (?)h]âιπερ Συρμαία
[. τ - - - - - -]

The restoration of ll. 1–3 does not call for much comment. The inscription clearly began with two hexameter verses, which are complete except for the last foot of the second, where a word is lost of which we have only ΓΘΤΕΦ followed apparently by Α. Mr. Kapsalis thought that here, as in the Damonon inscription,[1] after two hexameters the dedicator lapsed into prose, but it is just possible that the whole of the inscription as far as it goes was meant to be metrical. If this is so, in order to obtain a third hexameter we have to postulate some startling false quantities, scanning τριάκις in ll. 5, 6 either τρῑᾰ́κῐς or else τρῐᾰ́κῑς followed by Ἀ̄θᾱνᾱῑ́ο̄ῑς; of these alternatives it is hard to say which is preferable. As for a fourth hexameter, *if* we accept the third, there is not enough to warrant an attempt at restoration.

L. 1. Αἰγλάτας is not known elsewhere as a proper name. It is the Doric form of Αἰγλήτης, a well-known title of Apollo,[2] and may be compared with the two names, Αἰγλάτωρ and Αἰγλάνωρ, both borne by men of Cyrene.[3]

[1] *S.M.C.* 440.
[2] See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, *s.v.*
[3] Αἰγλάτωρ, Plutarch, *De Mul. Virt.* p. 255 E; Αἰγλάνωρ, *B.S.A.* xii, p. 442, l. 2.

Κάρνειος is a well-known title of Apollo in Laconia and Messenia, and need not detain us here[1]; the connexion of his cult with the relief above the inscription will be referred to below.

L. 2. The ἄγαλμα may refer merely to the relief, though it is much more likely to mean the small votive object which the stele supported, the nature of which is uncertain.

Πευπάκι, which is a variant of the usual form πευτάκις, was previously unknown; if not due to an error of the engraver, it may be compared with the usual Aeolic form πέμπε. For the termination we may compare the similar use of numeral adverbs τετράκιν, hεπτάκιν, ὀκτάκιν in the Damonon inscription, and for the elision of the final consonant we may compare Kaibel, *Epigr. Gr.* Nos. 936, τετράκι νικήσας; 945, ἑξάκι νικήσας.

Νικάσας is surprising: we should have expected νικάhας, on the analogy of the Damonon inscription,[2] but the retention of the inter-vocalic σ here is, by itself, not sufficient evidence to prove that this is a dedication by a *perioecus*.[3]

L. 4. Mr. Kapsalis correctly restores τὸ[ν] | μ[ακρ]όν. There are clear traces of the Ν at the end of the line, though they do not appear in his photograph, and, as my squeeze shows, there are remains of the Ρ visible before the Ο. We know from Pollux that there was a race known technically as μακρὸς δρόμος,[4] and it is clearly alluded to here.

With the end of this line our difficulties begin. Mr. Kapsalis divides the next letters thus: και ποτε θ. But we surely cannot take ποτε here as equivalent to ποτέ in Attic, as the Doric equivalent is ποκά (for which we may compare πήποκα in the second line of the Damonon inscription). This must then be the preposition πρός, and the next letters presumably contained a verb in the aorist tense: ποτέθ[εκε] (= προσέθηκε) naturally suggests itself, and will exactly fill the space, if we supply Τ before the ΟΝ in the next line. But I seemed to see traces of an Α rather than of an Ε, at the edge of the stone, though the latter is possibly the real reading. And as ποτεθα does not suggest any word which could fill the gap, I

[1] See Roscher, *Lexikon der Gr. und Röm. Mythologie*, *s.v.* Karneios; Pausanias iii, 13, 3, with Frazer's notes *ad loc.*; and S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, pp. 73–87.

[2] *Op. cit.* l. 2.

[3] Meister holds (*Dorer und Achäer*, pp. 7 foll.) that this is one of the chief features which distinguish 'Perioecan' from 'Spartan' inscriptions.

[4] *Onomasticon*, iii, c. 146. τὰ δὲ τῶν γυμνικῶν δολιχός, δολιχοδρόμος καὶ ὁ τὸν δολιχὸν τρέχων καὶ ὁ τὸν μακρὸν δρόμον ἀγωνιζόμενος.

prefer to distrust my eyesight, and suggest with hesitation *ποτέθ[ε|κε τ]ὸν δολιχόν* as the restoration here. And the meaning 'and he added (victories in) the *δολιχὸς δρόμος*' suits the sense fairly well.

L. 6. *Ἀθαναίοις* refers presumably to the games in honour of Athena Chalkioikos in which Damonon later on gained several victories.[1]

L. 7. *Συρμαία* is extremely interesting as being the first epigraphical confirmation of Hesychius' statement that there was a contest of this name at Sparta, in which the prize was a dish of *συρμαία*, which was composed of fat and honey.[2] The restoration of the rest of the line is impossible, though the previous word seems to have been [h]*ἀιπερ* or [*τ*]*ἀιπερ*, the A being practically certain. But what came between this and the word *Ἀθαναίοις* there are no means of telling, though the word after the latter began with D, as Mr. Kapsalis noted. Of l. 8 we have nothing but a single horizontal stroke, which may have belonged to Γ or Τ.

The curious relief above the inscription is interpreted by Mr. Kapsalis as an attempt to represent a fillet, which he would connect with the custom of holding a race at the festival of Apollo Karneios in which a man covered with fillets was pursued as he ran by the young men who were called *σταφυλοδρόμοι*.[3] But there would not be much point in dedicating a representation of a fillet unless the dedicator had been himself a participator in the contest, which we have no evidence that Aiglatas was. And further, there is no good ground for supposing that this relief is meant to represent a fillet, and Mr. Kapsalis himself confesses that its resemblance is not great, either to woven strands of wool,[4] such as were used on this occasion, or to the fillets on the Omphalos of Apollo. It seems to me to represent a pair of ram's horns, in which the sculptor found the direct outward and upward curve from the skull easier to render than the downward and forward curve which followed this, and in the latter his drawing is rather hesitating, but the photograph leaves little doubt as to his intentions. For the connexion of Apollo Karneios with a ram we have plentiful evidence, and I need not discuss the matter at length. We have

[1] *Op. cit.* l. 10, and in the recently discovered portion, *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 176 foll. ll. 24, 34.

[2] *s.v.* *Συρμαία.* *ἀγών τις ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ἔπαθλον ἔχων συρμαίαν· ἔστι δὲ βρωμάτιον διὰ στέατος καὶ μέλιτος, κ.τ.λ.* We know from Herodotus ii, 125 that this food formed part of the *menu* of the builders of the Pyramids.

[3] Hesychius, *s.v.* *σταφυλοδρόμοι*; Bekker, *Anecdota*, i, 305, 25; they are alluded to in *C.I.G.* 1387, 1388.

[4] *Συμπεπιεσμένα ἔρια.*

an admirable parallel to this relief in the ram-headed Herm found at Passava near Gytheion, in which Schröder recognizes an image of Apollo Karneios,[1] who is known to have been worshipped close to the site where this Herm was found.[2]

The find-spot of the inscription is not without interest, for the fact that it was discovered built into a wall of apparently Roman date may point to its having been originally set up not far away from where it was found.[3] A possible confirmation of the fact that the temple of Apollo Karneios was in this neighbourhood is furnished by the finding of a statue of Tiberius Claudius Brasidas,[4] whose family held the hereditary priesthoods of Κάρνειος (Β)οικέτας καὶ Κάρνειος Δρομαῖος among others,[5] close to where our inscription was found. This statue may very well have been set up in the neighbourhood of the temple of Apollo Karneios. But the question now arises, with which temple, that of Κάρνειος Δρομαῖος or Κάρνειος (Β)οικέτας these dedications are to be associated. The former shrine lay, according to Pausanias,[6] between the Dromos and the Platanistas, and was visited by him on his way from these places to the theatre. Their exact position is uncertain, but they seem to have been situated at the extreme west of the city, and the road from them to the theatre would not pass near the place where these dedications were found. That the other alternative is correct seems to be confirmed by the evidence of Pausanias that the (other) shrine of Karneios was near the statue of Aphetaeus, which was presumably in 'Apheta Street,' which ran southwards from the Agora, according to all indications.[7]

The only ancient building which has survived in this neighbourhood is the so-called Leonidaion or 'Tomb of Leonidas,'[8] and remembering that the statue of Tib. Cl. Brasidas was found within a few yards of this, and the present dedication to Apollo Karneios not very much further away, it is distinctly tempting to identify, as does Mr. Kapsalis, this building with the famous and ancient shrine of Karneios Oiketas.

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* xxix (1904), pp. 21–24.

[2] Pausanias iii, 24, 5; *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 233.

[3] This paragraph merely reproduces in slightly abbreviated form the arguments of Mr. Kapsalis, with whose acute and attractive suggestion I am in entire agreement.

[4] *S.M.C.* 85. [5] *Ibid.* 691. [6] iii, 14, 6.

[7] Mr. Kapsalis points out that according to Pausanias the shrine of Artemis Dictynna was situated near the end of Apheta Street (iii, 12, 8), and must have lain to the south of the city, for when Flamininus marched on Sparta from Gytheion he attacked it 'parte una a Phoebeo, altera a Dictynneo, tertia ab eo loco quem Heptagonias appellant,' Livy, xxxiv, 38.

[8] See Frazer, *Pausanias*, vol. iii, pp. 324, 5; Waldstein, *Thirteenth Annual Report of Arch. Inst. of America*, pp. 71 foll.

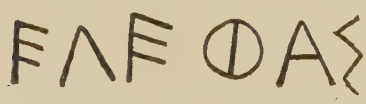
From the Menelaion.

88 (2703). Fragment of greyish marble, broken on all sides, found on west slope of the hill on which the Menelaion stands. ·08 × ·13 × ·09. Letters *ca.* ·03 high.

I _ /\ Ɛ	- - ε]λ̣ε - -
ʌ ⌐	- - - -

Nothing is lost from above, though the upper parts of the first two letters have disappeared. It seems tempting to restore -ε]λ̣ε- as [Hε]λέ[ναι] in the light of our knowledge of the position of the shrine of Helen and Menelaos. The letters are cut somewhat roughly, and the lower bar of the first Ɛ is not in line with that of the second Ɛ. The letters in l. 2 are quite uncertain. The date may be as early as the end of the sixth century B.C.

89 (2714). Large stele of hard grey limestone, found close to the Menelaion. 1·44 × ·28 × ·17. Letters ·045–·06 high, reading downwards from left to right, in the centre of the upper part of the stone.



Ἐλέφας.

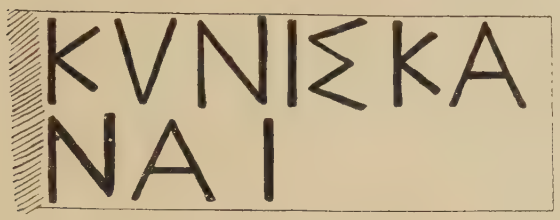
The exact shape of the *sigma* is uncertain as the stone is somewhat worn, but it seems to have consisted of four strokes only : the lowest angle is rounded off to a slight extent. This is in all probability a gravestone, for we need not be surprised at finding it in close proximity to a sanctuary.[1] The name is previously unknown, but it was not at all rare for men to have names which either were simply, or were compounded of, names of animals.[2] The lettering resembles somewhat that of *S.M.C.* 611, and suggests the end of the sixth century as a probable date.[3]

90 (2715). Fragment of a small Doric capital and abacus, complete above, on right, and below. Height of abacus ·026, over all ·08 ; original dimensions of *ditto*, about ·24 × ·24. Letters ·011 high.

[1] Professor Ridgeway kindly reminds me of the passage in Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, c. 27, (Λυκοῦργος) πλησίον ἔχειν τὰ μνήματα τῶν ἱερῶν οὐκ ἐκώλυσε.

[2] For a list of such names see Bechtel-Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*, pp. 314 foll.

[3] See Tod, *S.M.C.*, Introd. § 4.



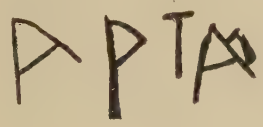
- - Κυνίσκα

- - - Ηελέ]ναι.

The exact restoration must remain a problem, though I have little doubt that in l. 2 we have the end of [Ηελέ]ναι. It is not unnatural to identify the dedicatrix with the Spartan princess of this name, who was daughter of Archidamos II, and recorded her victories in the chariot races at Olympia in the well-known epigram.[1] Owing to the small number of letters preserved in our inscription not much stress can be laid on the evidence from the letter-forms, but there is nothing in them inconsistent with our identification of Kyniska, whose dedication at Olympia was set up, apparently, soon after 400 B.C.

This small monument clearly supported some votive-offering, but we cannot tell what it was. It is just possible that here also we have to deal with a metrical dedication, for if we suppose that the abacus bore an inscription on two adjacent sides it would just contain room for an elegiac couplet; that the second line was not a hexameter is probable, and, if we accept the restoration [Ηελέ]ναι, certain. We know from l. 2 of the other epigram that Kyniska found that her name furnished an excellent ending for a hexameter, and she may well have used it in this position again here. But this is incapable of proof, and it is quite unprofitable to attempt a restoration on this evidence alone. If, however, the dedication was metrical l. 2 may have run thus: [εἰκόνα – ⏑⏑ – τάνδ' ἀνέθεχ' Ηελέ]ναι.

91 (2704). Block of soft yellow sandstone, complete on all sides, with cuttings on the upper surface, found in deposit to east of Menelaion. ·12 × ·24 × ·21. Letters ·05—·09 high, deeply cut.



'Αρτα- -

[1] See *Anthol. Pal.* xiii, 16; Pausanias, vi, 1, 6, and Frazer's note *ad loc.* (*Pausanias*, vol. iv, p. 3); *Inschriften von Olympia*, No. 160.

This may date back to early in the sixth century, or possibly even to the end of the seventh. Perhaps another block originally adjoined it on the right, on to which the inscription was continued. As it stands it is inexplicable, though the fourth sign may be due to the lapidary writing M and then correcting it into A.

(4) CORRECTIONS OF INSCRIPTIONS COPIED BY FOURMONT.

The following seventeen inscriptions which were copied by Fourmont were found this year in the course of uncovering the foundations of the

FIG. 1.—TRENCH ALONG NORTH SIDE OF LATE-ROMAN WALLS, SHOWING RE-DISCOVERED INSCRIPTIONS.

late-Roman walls on the northern side of the Acropolis hill.[1] Some are still built into the line of the wall, while others clearly have been extracted from the wall by Fourmont and buried at the foot of it. At the end of this note some remarks are appended on the question of the find-spots attributed by him to these stones. They are given here as printed in Boeckh's *Corpus*, in brackets. The numbers following those given by Boeckh are those of our inventory. With a few exceptions they are statue-bases of grey Laconian marble with a simple moulding at the top and bottom of the inscribed face.

Since Fourmont's copies, as emended by Boeckh, are on the whole substantially correct, the necessary alterations are mostly in points of minor importance and are hardly worth printing here. I will therefore confine myself to noting a few instances where the copies in the *Corpus* are still unsatisfactory. The numbers of the inscriptions are as follows :—

1. *C.I.G.* 1320 (2682). ('*Prope portam septentrionalem.*' F.) L. 9. The Eponymus' name ΔΑΜ- is left unfinished.
2. *C.I.G.* 1345 (2680). ('*In ecclesia D. Nicolai.*' F.)
3. *C.I.G.* 1346 (2699). ('*Iuxta turrim meridionalem.*' F.)
4. *C.I.G.* 1350 (2686). ('*Ante theatrum.*' F.)
5. *C.I.G.* 1363 (2684). ('*In Lacedaemonia ad marmoream basin.*' Cyriac. '*Iuxta portam septentrionalem.*' F.)
6. *C.I.G.* 1364 (2696). ('*Iuxta portam orientalem,*' but also '*iuxta portam septentrionalem*' is another note. F.) 1364 *b* is inscribed on the right-hand side of the stone as one faces the side bearing 1364 *a*, not on the left, as stated in the *Corpus*. In *b*, l. 11 *ad init.* read ΝΩΣ. Ll. 12, 13: ΤΡΟ|ΝΣΠΑΡΤΙΑΤΙΚΟΤΟΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ. L. 14 *ad fin.*: ΤΩΛΥΚΟΡΓΕΙΩΕΩ (*i.e.* τῶν Λυκουργείων ἐθῶ[ν]): the Θ and Ω overlap each other. In l. 13 we see that the name of the Eponymus was Spartiaticus,[2] not as given by Fourmont and Boeckh, Patridicus.
7. *C.I.G.* 1374 (2700). ('*Iuxta portam orientalem.*' F.)
8. *C.I.G.* 1379 (2688). ('*Iuxta portam septentrionalem.*' F.) Built face-upwards into foundations, adjacent to No. 4.

[1] See *B.S.A.* xiii, Pl. I (General Plan) **M 13**.

[2] Though not previously known to us, this man must be Ti. Cl. Spartiaticus son of Ti. Cl. Eudamus, and therefore grandson of the earlier Ti. Cl. Spartiaticus. He is thus brother of Cl. Damostheneia who is honoured in *C.I.G.* 445. See the genealogical table, *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 123.

9. *C.I.G.* 1384 (2681). ('*In Lacedaemonia ad egregiam gymnasiorum scenam, ad primam marmoream basin.*' Cyriac. '*Spartae prope portam orientalem.*' F.)

10. *C.I.G.* 1423 *a* (2685). (*Iuxta turrim meridionalem.*' F.) Built into foundations close to No. 8. Fourmont wrongly describes this as being inscribed on the three sides. Only the face is inscribed.

11. *C.I.G.* 1423 *b*, *c* (2687). On a separate block found close to No. 10, lying loose in the earth. Side *b* was inscribed the first, the stone was then cut down slightly on the left and re-used; *c* is cut on what was originally the under-side of the stone.

12. *C.I.G.* 1424 (2689). ('*Iuxta portam orientalem.*' F.) Found lying in earth, *ibid.*

13. *C.I.G.* 1442 (2697). ('*Iuxta portam orientalem.*' F.) Found lying in earth.

14. *C.I.G.* 1450 (2691). ('*Iuxta portam orientalem.*' F.) Found lying in earth, close to No. 13. The letters ΧΧΑϹΒΟΛΙΟΥ, correctly copied by Fourmont, are roughly cut, and clearly later than the inscription proper. Their meaning is a mystery.

15. *C.I.G.* 1452 (2698). ('*Prope turrim orientalem.*' F.)

16. *C.I.G.* 1453 (2690). ('*Iuxta portam orientalem.*' F.) L. 1: insert ἡ after πόλις. Ll. 13, 14: read τὸ ἀνάλω|μα Μά. Αὐρ. Κλεάνδρου τοῦ καὶ Μη|νίου κ.τ.λ.

17. *C.I.G.* 1507 (2683). ('*Iuxta portam septentrionalem.*' F.) Lying in earth close to Nos. 4, 8, and 10.

It will be seen that the find-spots attributed by Fourmont to these inscriptions seldom correspond with the real ones. Nos. 5 and 9 have the further interest for us of having been copied by Cyriac of Ancona when travelling in Greece (*ca.* 1438).[1] The former he merely notes as being '*ad marmoream basin*,' *i.e.* on a marble base, and the latter he describes as '*ad egregiam gymnasiorum scenam, ad primam marmoream basin.*' The latter monument is not recognizable, and Fourmont's note locates the stone by the 'east gate.' If the account of the later traveller is to be trusted, the *egregia gymnasiorum scena* must have been seen by Cyriac near the east gate, which was presumably near the S.E. corner of the late-Roman

[1] The most accessible account of Cyriac's travels is to be found in Miller's *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 417 foll.

walls, and this inscription must have been brought by Fourmont and buried where I refound it. But this is not at all a certain inference, for the find-spots given by Fourmont are in some cases clearly wrong. In fact he only gives the correct *provenance*, '*prope* (*iuxta*) *portam septentrionalem*,' to five of these seventeen stones, namely Nos. 1, 5, 6,[1] 8, 17; seven are said to have been found '*iuxta* (*prope*) *portam orientalem*,' namely Nos. 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 16; one (No. 15) '*prope turrim orientalem*'; three (Nos. 3, 10, and 11) '*iuxta turrim meridionalem*'; one (No. 4) '*ante theatrum*,' and one (No. 2) '*in ecclesia D. Nicolai*.' Of the first five, only Nos. 5 and 8 are still built into the wall. Of the eight (or seven, if we reckon No. 6 in the first group) seen by Fourmont near the east gate or tower, all are lying loose in the earth, though there is every indication that No. 16 was built into the northern wall at this point and pulled out by Fourmont. It is, however, possible that Fourmont had them brought here and buried, though we cannot be certain on this point. Of the three 'near the southern tower,' No. 10 was found built into the wall, while the other two are lying loose in the earth. No. 4, which Fourmont saw 'near the theatre,' is likewise built into the wall here, and No. 2, which he saw 'in the church of S. Nicolas,' is lying loose in the earth. So we see that in two instances, Nos. 4 and 10, Fourmont's description of the find-spot is wrong for certain, and probably so in the case of No. 16. This may well make us wonder whether he is to be believed at all in this matter, for it must have been a very difficult task to have seven large statue bases[2] conveyed to where I found them, some 250 yards over rough ground from the east gate, and two more from the southern tower, not to mention one from the church of S. Nicolas, wherever that may have been. It seems on the whole more reasonable to believe that the majority of these stones were originally built into the north wall and merely pulled out and copied by Fourmont, who then had the forethought to bury them at the foot of the wall. We must then suppose that in the case of the greater part of this group of inscriptions he trusted to his memory for his description of their find-spots, with somewhat disastrous results.

[1] As noted above, *ad loc.*, this is attributed to two different find-spots.

[2] The average weight of these stones can hardly be less than three-quarters of a ton. I doubt whether Fourmont could have found appliances at Sparta in 1729, for moving these blocks, and moreover, we should expect them to have suffered in transit more than they have done.

(5) NOTES ON SPARTAN INSCRIPTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED ALREADY.

I venture to put together here some emendations and comments to Spartan inscriptions published in Boeckh's *C.I.G.*, the *Sparta Museum Catalogue*, and elsewhere. Several of them have already appeared, some in the preceding pages of this article, others in the *Annual*, vols. xiii and xiv, but it may be convenient to collect them here again ; while there are several minor corrections to be made in the copies of the inscriptions published by Tillyard (*op. cit.* xii, pp. 441 foll.), as a result of re-examination of the squeezes of these stones.

C.I.G. 1237, l. 30. Insert < after Δαμοκλῆς. Boeckh omits this sign in *C.I.G.* 1238, l. 6, where Fourmont copied it as Κ. The name is Δαμοκλῆς (Δαμοκλέους) ὁ καὶ Φιλοκράτης.

C.I.G. 1238, l. 8. After Τυχαῖος read ΡΤΟΦ (=γραμματοφύλαξ) Νεικιπ|πίδας κ.τ.λ.[1]

C.I.G. 1239 joins *C.I.G.* 1249. See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 210.

C.I.G. 1240, Col. I, ll. 14, 15 for Μ|ΟΛΟΧΙΣ read (probably) [Κ]|ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ.[2]

C.I.G. 1241 (=*S.M.C.* 204), Col. II, ll. 1, 2. Read [Δαμ]οκλῆς ([Δαμ]οκλέους) τοῦ|[καὶ Φι]λοκράτους. See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 204.

C.I.G. 1242. See below for a note on P. Wolters' paper, *Ath. Mitt.* xxviii (1903), pp. 291 foll., where the date of C. Pomponius Alcastus is dealt with.

C.I.G. 1243, ll. 1, 2. Read Σέξ. [- - Σεβῆ]|(ρ)ος Φοίβου, which we find in *C.I.G.* 1265, l. 8 as -πιος Σεβῆρος Φοίβου : the *nomen* should perhaps be Ulpius, since in the former inscription Fourmont leaves three spaces between ΣΕΞ and ΛΤ, which suggests Σέξ. [Οὔ]λ(π)[ιος] : perhaps only two letters are missing, and Fourmont's Τ may well have been Π. Ll. 3–12 : [γραμ]|ματοφύλα[ξ ἐπὶ Εὐρυ]|κλέους, νομο[φύλαξ ἐπὶ] | Φλαβίου Χα(ρ)[ιξένου,[3] γερου]|σίας ἐπὶ Σ[ιδέκτα, γρ. βου. ἐ]|πὶ Σ(ι)πόμπο[υ, ἐπιμελητὴς] | Κορωνείας [ἐπὶ (?) Ἰουλίου Λυ]|σίππου, γερ[ουσίας τὸ β′]|ἐπὶ

[1] As was suggested by Foucart (Le Bas-Foucart, *Explication*, No. 173 a).

[2] For C. Julius as the *praenomen* and *nomen* in this family see above, p. 41, No. 96.

[3] This man must not be confused with Julius Charixenus, the Eponymus of 126 or 127 A.D. The former apparently held office about three years before. For his name see *B.S.A.* xii, p. 460, No. 12.

Ἀριστοβού[λου, ἔφο]|ρος ἐπὶ Ἀφθονή[του]. The only uncertain points are the names of the Eponymi in ll. 7 and 9, and the name of the office in l. 7. I insert Ἰουλίου in the latter line, which is otherwise too short. This also enables us to restore the name of the Eponymus in *C.I.G.* 1265 as Ἀριστο[βούλου], as Σεβῆρος Φοίβου records that under him he was γερουσίας for the second time.

In l. 21 of this inscription we are clearly justified in restoring Νο[μοφύλακες]. Εὐδαιμάκ(ω)ν in l. 24 is also found in *S.M.C.* 208 and 787, perhaps in each case as γερουσίας, as these both may be lists of γέροντες of different years. L. 25: read Λ. Βολοσσηνὸ(ς)[? Δαμάρης], who may be identical with the man of that name in *C.I.G.* 1438: he was perhaps also the vice-gerent for the patronomate of Timomenes (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 375, No. 38).

L. 26: perhaps Φιλωνίδας [Φιλοκλέους Μ]ν[άσωνι] | καὶ Λυσιμάχῳ κ[άσεν]. This would mean that he was a brother of Φιλοκλῆς Φιλοκλέους who records κάσεν-ship to the same men in *C.I.G.* 1241, Col. I, l. 25; it also accounts for the traces of letters IN/ copied by Fourmont here.

C.I.G. 1244: for a restoration of the names in ll. 14, 15, and 17, see *S.M.C.* 215. In l. 23 we may restore - -άτης] (Π)υθικοῦ from *C.I.G.* 1292, l. 3. The remainder of the stone is beyond restoration.

C.I.G. 1246, l. 1. Read Ὀνασικλείδας Φιλοστ(ρ)άτου: the sign < may be only an ornament, as I have not much faith in my previous suggestion[1] that it means that Philostratus' father bore the same name: this would be grammatically wrong, but we have similar solecisms in several Spartan inscriptions. This inscription contains the Ephors and Νομοφύλακες of the year of Lysippus (Philocharini f., I believe), as we may see from *C.I.G.* 1241, Col. II, ll. 14, 15, where Damocles is Ephor in the year of Lysippus. Fourmont's copy is unusually inaccurate: in l. 2 after νομοφύλακες we may perhaps restore [τὸν ἐπὶ Λυσίππου ἐν]ι(α)υ(τ)όν, (ὢν) πρέσβυς, κ.τ.λ., which would exactly fill the space, but it involves considerable alteration of Fourmont's text. In l. 4 I would restore the name of the γραμματεὺς (β)ου(λ)ᾶς as Κλέων < Τυνδάρ(ε)ι κάσε(ν).

C.I.G. 1247. P. Wolters (*Ath. Mitt.*, *loc. cit.*) would restore l. 1 as υἱὸς Αὐτοκράτορος Ἁδρι[ανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου] and refer it to Marcus Aurelius, but there seems no room for the last word either in l. 1, if Fourmont has represented correctly the relative length of the lines on the stone,

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 199.

or at the beginning of l. 2, where there seems room for at most eight letters, and where Boeckh not unnaturally supplies Ἔφοροι. For further considerations with regard to the date of this stone see below, where Wolters' article is again alluded to. Ll. 9, 10: there does not seem room for Boeckh's restoration ἀρχιε[ρεὺς διὰ βίου τῶν | Σεβαστῶν], though it is possible that Fourmont has omitted a whole line. We should perhaps read ἀρχιε[ρεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης], or suppose that the engraver omitted the words τῶν Σεβαστῶν altogether. L. 12: we may supply from *S.M.C.* 215 Νεικάσιππος Εὐημέρου; and in l. 13 I restore [Λυσικράτης] Χαριξένου. L. 16 presumably contains the name of the last νομοφύλαξ, and l. 16 the name of the first ἔνσιτος of the college, and the restoration Ἔνσιτοι· Νικ]ήφορος Μάρκου makes the line begin exactly under ll. 3–7, where apparently the margin of the stone is preserved. In ll. 18, 19 we may restore, as I suggested, Δα]μοκλῆς ([Δα]μοκλέους) τοῦ | [καὶ Φιλοκράτο]υς. I have no suggestion for a restoration of the gap before this name.

C.I.G. 1249. See *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 209, 10.

C.I.G. 1250, ll. 5–7. Read merely Πό. Μέμμιος | Σειδέκτα[ς] | Δεξιμάχο[υ]. L. 12 may be completed Θεοκλ[ῆς]. L. 18: Σπαρτιάτη[ς] may be a proper name, as in *S.M.C.* 208, 787: he is there in each case the same man, whose father is called Sosidamus, but it is not safe to identify him with the man of this name here, as I believe his father's name to have been M. Ἀριστο[κράτης, *vel sim.*], Boeckh, however, thought the latter name to be that of an Eponymus, and Σπαρτιάτης a title.

C.I.G. 1251, l. 5 should perhaps be restored [Νι]κανδρίδας <, who may be identical with the Πό. Αἴλ. Νικανδρίδας βου(αγός), Ephor in *C.I.G.* 1241 (= *S.M.C.* 204), Col. I, l. 27, under Cassius Aristoteles. The dates of the two are not far removed from each other.

C.I.G. 1252 contains the magistrates of the year of Eudamidas, as we have seen, since there seems no objection to our identification of the νομοφύλαξ [Καλ]λικράτης <βουαγός with the man of the same name who is νομοφύλαξ ἐπὶ Εὐδαμίδα in *C.I.G.* 1249, Col. III, ll. 2, 3, Boeckh's restoration of his name as missing from before l. 1 being certain. In l. 8 the first name is clearly [Δα]μοκράτης, and it is his son Eudocimus who acted as σπονδοφόρος in this year (ll. 15–17) and was also victor in the παιδικὸς ἀγών in the year of Alcastus,[1] together with his cousin Eudocimus,

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, p. 372, No. 32. My note (*op. cit.* xiii, p. 203) attributing this victory to the year of the younger Alcastus is incorrect.

son of Eudocimus. The date of this victory has been alluded to above, but the recurrence of the victor's name in *C.I.G.* 1252, which we have dated on other grounds as earlier than 150 A.D., proves that the votive inscription belongs to the Hadrianic period beyond any doubt, and gives us definite information that the σπονδοφόρος was a youthful attendant of the college to which he was attached, and here, as in several other cases, was a relative of one of the magistrates in this year. From ll. 10, 14 of this inscription we may also see that sometimes a magistrate was ἔνσιτος in the year in which he held office, and this disproves Foucart's theory that the ἔνσιτος was entertained in the year after he held office.[1]

C.I.G. 1253, ll. 17, 18. I shall attempt to show below that Boeckh is right in referring the phrase ἐστ(ρα)τε(υ)μένος δὶς κατὰ Περσ(ῶ)ν to the campaigns of Marcus Aurelius, not to those of Caracalla.

C.I.G. 1256, Col. II, ll. 2–4: read σύνδικος [ἐπὶ] | θεοῦ Λυκούργου | [τ]ὸ β', κ.τ.λ.; ll. 10–11: read σύνδικος | ἐπὶ θεοῦ Λυκούργου, as I pointed out above p. 67.[2]

C.I.G. 1257 joins 1276. See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 211.

C.I.G. 1258, Col. I, ll. 4–5. Read Ὀνασικλ[είδας] | Φιλοστ[ράτου]; ll. 10, 11: νομοφύλ[αξ ἐπὶ] | Καλλικράτους. This is probably the father of Callicrates Callicratis f., who is found in *C.I.G.* 1249, Col. III, and is numbered eighteen in my list above. He was probably Eponymus not later than 120 A.D.[3] The rest of the stone is beyond restoration, though in l. 15 ἐπιμελητ[ὴς πό] | λε(ω)ς is extremely probable.[4] We do not know whose *cursus honorum* is contained in Col. II, but we may perhaps complete ll. 8, 9 thus: πρεσβευτ[ὴς εἰς] | Ῥώμην τρί[ς]. In ll. 12–14 we have ἐπ(ὶ) πα[τρονό]μου Δαμο[κλέους] | τοῦ Φιλοκρ[άτους, as I pointed out above. Boeckh's restoration of ll. 15, 16 νομοφύλα[ξ ἐπὶ] | Κλ.? Περ - - is far from certain as regards the Eponymus' name, but I have no suggestion to make.

C.I.G. 1262, l. 11. Read Στέφανος (Στεφάνου), Νεό(λ)α κάσ[εν].

C.I.G. 1264, ll. 1, 2. Read [Γ]έροντες [ἐπὶ Δαμοκλέους] | τοῦ (Δαμοκλέους) τοῦ καὶ Φ[ιλοκράτους]; l. 3 begins Μ. Οὔλ(π)ιος: there were about

[1] Le Bas-Foucart, *Explication*, No. 168 *b*; Tod, *S.M.C.* Introd. § 20.

[2] As Boeckh notes, part of this inscription is transcribed, from Fourmont's MS., by Sainte-Croix, *Anciens Gouvernemens Fédératifs*, p. 200, No. 2. It is interesting to see that there are dots in his copy after the word σύνδικος in l. 2, showing plainly that there was another word in the line, though Fourmont could not read it. This was of course ἐπί.

[3] See *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 199, 203.

[4] Tod, *S.M.C.* Introd. § 19, and p. 13, note 5.

twenty letters in each line, and we may perhaps complete this line M. Οὔλπιος Σ(ω)[κράτης υἱὸς πό]|λε(ω)ς, περ(ι)ο[δονίκης. This would give twenty-two letters in l. 3, but is only a tentative suggestion.

C.I.G. 1265, l. 1 may be restored thus: Γέροντες ἐπὶ πατρονόμου Τι. Κλαυδίου Ἀρισ[τοβούλου - -: see my note on *C.I.G.* 1243, above. L. 4 should probably be completed: Γά. Ἰούλιος Λύσιπ[πος Φιλοχαρείνου]. L. 8 [Σέξ. ? Οὔλ]πιος Σεβῆρος Φοίβου τὸ β' (see *ibid.*).

C.I.G. 1266. We may perhaps restore Σωσίδαμ[ος . . . . . πρέσ]| βυς νομ[οφυλάκων τὸν ἐπὶ]| Ἄγιδος ἑ[νιαυτόν, πρέσβυς]| ἐφόρ[ων ἐπὶ . . . . .]| κράτους, κ.τ.λ.

C.I.G. 1269, ll. 1, 21. Read Βίδεοι ἐπὶ Δαμο[κλέους]| τοῦ [<τοῦ κα]ὶ Φιλο[κράτους], as I pointed out above.

C.I.G. 1276 joins 1257, *q.v.*

C.I.G. 1277. Foucart gives a few restorations of these names in the light of other inscriptions (Le Bas-Foucart, *Explication*, p. 91, No. 168 c).

C.I.G. 1288. This was refound in 1906, and shows that in l. 3 we are to read Δαμακίων <, not Δαμανικίων, as Fourmont had copied it; for some further textual corrections see below, under note to *B.S.A.* xii, p. 477.

C.I.G. 1306, ll. 6, 7. We may restore the proper names thus: (Γά.) Ἰουλίου Εὐ(ρυ)κλέου<σ>ς Ἡρκλανοῦ Λου|κίο[υ] (Β)ιβουλ[λ]ίου (Π)είο(υ). This is the full name of C. Julius Eurycles, the Spartan Eponymus of *ca.* 127 A.D.[1]

C.I.G. 1362. See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 114. Ll. 4, 5 should probably be restored [ἀγορα]|νόμων, but I have nothing to suggest for ll. 3, 4.

C.I.G. 1398.[2] This inscription is still visible, built into the S. face of the late-Roman wall: as Foucart notes, several letters have perished since Dodwell copied it, and nothing is left except the following letters:

Α
ΕΛΟΥΜΕΙ
ΤΗΣΑΝ

C.I.G. 1405, ll. 4, 5. Read - πρ]ο(γ)όν(ω)ν [αὐτ|οῦ φιλ]οκαίσαρα (κ)αὶ φιλόπατριν - -].

CIG. 1447. In ll. 4, 5 of Col. I, ΑΝ|ΔΙΟΣ is clearly ἀνδ(ρ)ός, not, as Boeckh thought, a muddled version of the name of the husband of

[1] See *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 207; Dittenb. *Syll.*[2] 392.

[2] See Le Bas-Foucart, *Explication*, No. 184, and the references there given to previous copyists.

Κλαυδία Νείκιον in l. 2, and the next few lines contain a list of the virtues of her father. I would suggest for ll. 6, 9 (λαμ)πρότατι καὶ ἰδίᾳ [ἀ|ρετᾷ ?] καὶ παιδείᾳ | [τοῦ τ]ε γένους ἀξίο[υ] | (κα)[ὶ τᾶς] πατρίδος, καὶ - -. It is impossible to make sense of the appalling jumble of letters in ll. 10, 12; in ll. 17, 18 I would restore [ἔγ]γονον δὲ Τ· [Κλαυ|δί]ο(υ Ἀρ)ισ(τ)οκ(ράτ)[ους], to whom the titles in Col. II, ll. 1, 2 will belong; δέ in l. 17 balances μέν in l. 3. In Col. II, ll. 5, 7 we may perhaps have the following phrase Νέας Πηνελό[πης (τ)ῆ(ς) φερο|(μένη)ς, *i.e.* 'of the "New Penelope" as she is called'; but this involves considerable departure from the original copy.

For other notes on inscriptions in Boeckh's *C.I.G.* which have been re-discovered at Sparta in 1906–09 see *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 477–9; xiii, pp. 208–212; xiv, pp. 140–141; and above, pp. 88 foll.

Le Bas-Foucart, *Explication*, p. 97, No. 174. We now see that we have three and not two persons of the name of Alcastus in Spartan inscriptions of the second century A.D. Foucart, and following him P. Wolters,[1] identified Ἄλκαστος Τιμοκρίτου, who was γερουσίας τὸ β' in the year of C. Julius Philocleidas (*S.M.C.* 210), with the Ἄλκαστος who was Eponymus under Hadrian (*S.M.C.* 204, Col. II, l. 15). But this is now seen to be impossible, for we must identify the latter with the C. Pomponius Alcastus who was πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων (*C.I.G.* 1247), Ephor (*ibid.* 1242), and [πρεσβευτὴς] εἰς Παννονίαν in 136 A.D. (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 464, No. 17), and it is out of the question that he can have been γερουσίας for the second time as early as the year of Philocleidas (*ca.* 100–110 A.D.), and yet have been prominent at Sparta until after 150 A.D. If, however, we assume, as I have done above, that C. Pomponius Alcastus was Eponymus as a young man of perhaps not much more than thirty years of age, or even younger still, towards the end of the reign of Hadrian, he might quite well have continued to hold offices until after the middle of the century, and have been entertained by the γερουσία (?) after 160 A.D., as a mark of respect to a *civis bene meritus.* Foucart concluded that the Eponymus in the Hadrianic era was the son of Timocritus and grandfather of the C. Pomponius Alcastus who held the other posts, on the ground that he had not a Roman *praenomen* and *nomen.* But we see from the inscription found in 1906 (*B.S.A. loc. cit.*) that he had,[2] although his name is sometimes

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* xxviii (1903), pp. 291 foll.

[2] *Ibid.* l. 5. We must substitute Πο(μπωνίου) for Πο(πλίου) in the transcript.

found without them, and further that he held also in the Hadrianic era the honorary titles *φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλόπατρις, υἱὸς πόλεως*, which he bears in *C.I.G.* 1242 and 1247. It is his son Agis and not that of Alcastus Timocriti f., who was perhaps no relation at all, who is *νομοφύλαξ, ἀγωνοθέτης Καισαρείων καὶ Εὐρυκλείων*, Eponymus and *γυμνασίαρχος* (*C.I.G.* 1239, 1249, 1351), and his brother C. Pomponius Aristeas, who is honoured in Le Bas-Foucart, No. 174. C. Pomponius Alcastus the younger, who helped to erect a statue to his uncle C. Pomponius Agis, was presumably son of Aristeas, as Foucart shows in his *stemma*. This *stemma* is correct, if we substitute C. Pomponius Alcastus for Alcastus Timocriti f., and attribute to him the offices attributed by Foucart to his grandson of the same name. A similar correction must of course be made in my *stemma* (*B.S.A.* xiv, p. 123).

Le Bas-Foucart, *op. cit.* p. 130, No. 180. See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 113, for the correct restoration *Ἐπὶ πατρονό(μου) θεοῦ Λυκο[ύρ]γου τὸ ε', κ.τ.λ.*

Ibid. p. 105, No. 194 c. For a few additions see Dressel-Milchhöfer, *Ath. Mitt.* ii (1877), p. 439, No. 19. The stone is still built into the front wall of a house at Sparta, a short distance to the south of the Cathedral. I examined it again, and have noted the following points. The stone measures ·37 × ·57. Letters ·012 high. L. 1: D.-M. are correct in reading [ἡ]ρῶας. L. 2, *ad init.*: –ΣΒΕΩΝ, *i.e.* *πρε]σβέων*. L. 4, *ad init.*: ϽΣ not (as D.-M.) ΛΣ. L. 12: in *νεικώντων* the Ε is written Ϲ. L. 20: ΛΕΝΟΜΟΦΥΛΑΚΑ *i.e.* [*τοὺ*]*ς νομοφύλακα*[*ς*]. I have no doubt whatsoever that this is part of the same monument as the Leonidea inscription found in 1906, and published in *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 445, foll.: though the letters are a shade smaller than those on the base and capital, the style is exactly the same, and confirms Professor Bosanquet's suggestion that part of the missing shaft was also inscribed.[1]

Dressel-Milchhöfer, *Ath. Mitt.* ii (1877), p. 435, No. 6. This is not part of *C.I.G.* 1241, but of a duplicate copy of that stone, as is pointed out by Tod, *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 213, note.

Ibid. p. 436, No. 9, *b*, l. 4. Read [*Διάρ*]*ης Βρούτου* as in *C.I.G.* 1239, Col. III, ll. 3, 4. He would seem from the latter reference to have been an Eponymus, probably at the end of the reign of Trajan.

Ibid. p. 440, No. 23. This may be partly restored in the light of *C.I.G.* 1242, Col. I, as follows: [*φι*]*λόπατρις* - - | - [*Φιλοκ*]*λέους* - - | -

[1] *B.S.A.*, *loc. cit.*

[Χρυσέρ]ωτι κά[σεν]. |[Νομοφύ]λακες - - |. It may indeed be another copy of the same inscription, written in longer lines, for the title in the first line may belong to C. Pomponius Alcastus, who was Ephor in *C.I.G.* 1242. In this case we may complete the restoration in accordance with that inscription.

Tod, *S.M.C.*, No. 372, l. 9. We may, I think, restore Φιλου](μ)ενὸς Σωτηρίδα, a name which is found *ibid.* No. 208, l. 3.

Ibid. No. 542, l. 3. Read ⊣E. This must have been an artist's signature, - -τος| - -ος|[ἐποίε]hε, but we know of no Dorian artist of the fifth or fourth century whose name ended in -τος. Had he not been a Dorian he would presumably have written ἐποίεσε. This may be of the fifth century and is certainly not later than the fourth.

Ibid. No. 612, ll. 11. We may restore Λαχάρης Ἑ[ρα]κλανοῦ, this being another, in fact the more correct, way of spelling Ἡρκλανοῦ.[1]

P. Wolters, *Ath. Mitt.* xxviii (1903), pp. 291 foll. Dealing with the Spartan inscriptions which record that certain Spartans took part in the campaigns against the Persians, by which they meant the Parthians, the author of this paper attempts to prove that they all allude to the campaigns of Caracalla in the East. The epigraphical evidence is not convincing in favour of this view and I am inclined to attribute at least one of these inscriptions (*C.I.G.* 1253) to the earlier campaigns, namely those of Lucius Verus, as was Boeckh's view. This contains some names of magistrates and dependent officials (of the γερουσία?) ending with the following: Νεικοκλῆς νέος, δημόσιος, | ἐστ(ρα)τε(υ)μένος δὶς κατὰ Περσ(ῶ)ν. One of the three ἔνσιτοι of the college is C. Pomponius Alcastus, whom I believe to be the Alcastus who was πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων (*C.I.G.* 1247), ἔφορος (*ibid.* 1242), πατρονόμος ἐπώνυμος under Hadrian (*ibid.* 1241 = *S.M.C.* 204), and had, perhaps shortly after being Eponymus, gone on an embassy to Pannonia (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 464, No. 17). Foucart and Wolters had, as I pointed out above, attributed the first two inscriptions to the grandson of the man mentioned in the third, but I think that the discovery of the fourth enables us to identify the same man in all four. In *C.I.G.* 1242 he is described as εἰληφὼς τὰς τῆς ἀριστοπολειτείας τειμὰς κατὰ τὸν νόμον, an honour not yet acquired or at all events not recorded when the other inscriptions were set up. Wolters, on the evidence of the Roman *nomen* Pomponius, thinks that the Alcastus who is ἔνσιτος in *C.I.G.* 1253 can only

[1] See *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 14, No. 75.

be the younger Alcastus (to whom he attributes Nos. 1242 and 1247); and that, as he there receives none of his honorary titles ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν, κ.τ.λ., this inscription must be earlier than the other two which fall in the reign of Antoninus Pius, and consequently too early to refer even to the Parthian wars of Lucius Verus; and so he would explain this Alcastus as an entirely different person. But it does not seem necessary to expect him to have used his honorary titles in this case, as the post of an ἔνσιτος was not a state post at all, but only meant that the man entertained was a guest, and his titles may well have been omitted on such an occasion, but had he been recorded as a magistrate, no doubt his titles would have been inserted in full. My opinion is that Alcastus was entertained by this college in his old age, and that he lived to see the Parthian campaigns of Lucius Verus in the years 161–165. And thus this inscription in which Νεικοκλῆς νέος is δημόσιος cannot be earlier than the latter year. That the Alcastus in question is not the grandson of the man whom I take him to have been, is rendered probable by (1) the complete absence of the Roman *praenomen* and *nomen* Marcus Aurelius, which we should have expected in an inscription of two generations later, and (2) by the presence of the name [C.] Julius Philocratidas, as ἔνσιτος, as he is presumably the Eponymus of *C.I.G.* 1248, Col. II,[1] which is clearly not much later than the middle of the second century, and may be earlier.

If one of this series of inscriptions is to be associated with the Parthian wars of L. Verus, it is far from unlikely that some, or even all of the others should be grouped with it. But the prosopographical evidence is extremely uncertain, and I prefer not to attempt a closer dating of the other stones, though there is some degree of probability that one, *S.M.C.* 245 (= Le Bas-Foucart 183b), contains the name of the same Ἀντίπατρος who is father of the priestess Κλαυ. Ἀγήτα[2] (*C.I.G.* 1476 = Collitz-Bechtel 4519). As the father's name is rare, he may be the same as the Ἀντίπατρος who is ἔνσιτος in the year of Callicrates Rufi f. (*C.I.G.* 1240), and apparently, son of C. Julius Lysicrates (*C.I.G.* 1425), and thus grandson of C. Julius Charixenus the Eponymus in the Hadrianic era. If we place the year of this Callicrates *ca.* 150–155, Antipater may have been entertained while young and have gone to fight in the East a few years later, under Lucius

[1] Boeckh rightly restores [ἐπί], as otherwise, if we assumed that Philocratidas was the πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων, we should have six and not five of these magistrates. But I think the date is not so late as he puts it ('non potest M. Aurelio vel Commodo antiquior haberi').

[2] See Foucart, *ad loc.*; and *S.M.C.* 245, note.

Verus. He was clearly not very old when ἔνσιτος, as his father was then chief Ephor, and perhaps the latter had the right of nominating whom his college should entertain, and, contrary to the usual rule, they entertained a young rather than an old man. This seems to point to our having to group this stone *S.M.C.* 245 together with *C.I.G.* 1253 as belonging to the earlier Parthian wars; and it is instructive to note that Tod attributes it rather to these on the evidence of the style of lettering.[1]

B.S.A. xii, p. 446, No. 2 A. The letters in l. 1 are distinctly larger than those in the other lines, being ·03 high, while those in ll. 3 foll. are barely ·02: those in l. 2 are slightly larger than the latter, being about ·022 high. This indicates that these are the opening sentences of the inscription. In l. 3 there are no spaces vacant, as the published copy indicates, and the reading *-ν ὑ[π]έσχετο ὑπὲρ Φλαβίου Χαριξένο[υ* is certain; there are traces of the *π* in *ὑπέσχετο* visible (Γ). In l. 4 after *ὧν* the reading and the sense are doubtful, but I cannot see ΜΕΓΟΙ which Tillyard's copy gives. The letters here are as follows: ΩΝΕΝΚΕ//ΦΟΡ////. One letter is lost between Ε and Φ, and it was probably Κ or Μ: we should thus restore *ὧν ἓν κ(αὶ) ἐ·φορ - -*, which perhaps contains the provision that part of the aforementioned sum Φ (=500) should be subject to a tax.[2] The passage is beyond hope of certain restoration, several letters being lost on the right-hand side of the stone, but there is little room for doubt as to the letters given above.

Ibid. No. 2 B, ll. 1, 2. I have succeeded in deciphering a few more letters than appear in the published copy, but they do not help us much towards a restoration of these lines: the letters seem to be spaced rather more widely than in the following lines. I reproduce l. 3 to show the exact positions occupied by the new letters.

ΜΑ ΜΕΝΑ . . ΝΙΖΟΜΕΝΟΣΑΝ . . . Ν ΝΕΦΟΙ
ΑΓΩΝΙΖΟΜ ΤΟΓ
ΗΣΕΤΑΙΜΕΧΡΙΕΦ ΕΙΔΕΤΙΣΑΝΤΙΛΕΓΟΙΤΩΝΖΗΜΙΩΘΕΝΤΩΝ, *κ.τ.λ.*

In l. 1 we seem to have *ὁ] μὲν ἀ[γω]νειζόμενος ἀν[- - ? τῶ]ν ἐφό[ρων - -*, and in l. 2 *ἀγωνιζομ[εν - -*, the verb being spelt in one case with *ει* and in the other with *ι* alone. There may have been another line above l. 1, but if so it is past all recognition. In l. 5 the first word is uncertain: I seem to

[1] *S.M.C.* Introd. § 33 *ad fin.*

[2] If we restore the word as *ἐ[μ]φόρ[ιον]*, but *ἐ[κ]φόρ[ου] vel sim.* is equally possible.

see ΙΕΙΣ///ΜΕΝΟΙ, and would restore *ταμ]ιευσ[ά]μενοι*, which bears exactly the required sense. In l. 8 Professor Wilhelm has recently pointed out that the correct reading is *μέχρι Ϝακινθίου ε' ἱσταμένου*, not *εἱσταμένου*.[1]

Ibid. p. 458, No. 8. This is probably not to be ascribed to a Roman Emperor, as the last two lines seem only to contain further items in a list of names. A close examination of the squeeze has yielded the following results.

L. 1. There was apparently a *sigma* before the Ν, as there is distinctly visible an *apex* of the shape peculiar to the *sigmas* in this inscription; and after the Η of Νικη- there seems to have been a Φ. There is no trace of the letter itself, as the stone is broken, but between ll. 1 and 2 just before the breakage there is distinctly visible a faint line ruled by the engraver to guide him as to the exact depth below the rest of the line to which he should continue some long vertical stroke. This stroke was presumably that of a Φ, and so we may confidently restore this line as - -ς] Νικη[φόρου] (or Νική[φορος]).

L. 2. The first letter is not Τ but Π. The lower *apex* of the left-hand *hasta* is plainly visible, and the horizontal stroke does not project far enough to be that of a Τ, nor does it terminate with an *apex* such as the *taus* have on this stone. After the Ο is the lower *apex* of a *sigma*, so we may restore [ὁ δεῖνα] Πασίωνο[ς].

L. 3. Before the Ρ I seem to see the lower *apex* of a Κ, so we may restore -κράτης (-κράτους).

L. 4. The first word cannot have been [μέγ]ιστος, as there is an *apex* visible just before the *iota* at the bottom of the line, and there is not room for the horizontal stroke of a Γ, so some letter such as Π must have stood here: it cannot have been Ι or Ν, as the latter has no *apex* at the bottom of its right-hand *hasta*. There seems to have been a letter after the Ρ of Σωτήρ, but the damaged condition of the stone makes certainty impossible: it looks like Φ written smaller than the other letters in the line, and this was perhaps the beginning of the father's name. The first name was very likely to have been [Εὐέλπ]ιστος,[2] so we may complete the line thus: (?) Εὐέλπ]ιστος, Σωτὴρ [Φ - -].

[1] *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde*, p. 319.

[2] This name is found at Sparta in *C.I.G.* 1377, 1423 *c*. But the name Πιστός is also known there, *C.I.G.* 1274, l. 4. For the name Σωτήρ, *ibid.* 1272, l. 7.

L. 5. There are clear traces of a curved letter before the ΥΣ at the beginning of the line; we may restore [-ο]υς or possibly [-θ]ὺς: the former is more likely, and may be the ending of the genitive from the previous line. At the end of this line I seem to see Γ which will be the remains of an Ε, not of an Η. This suggests the name Ἡρακλ[είδας].

L. 6. There is a small *apex*, which may belong to a Τ, visible after the Π, unless, as Tillyard suggests, it is only an accidental mark on the stone. But it might, if part of a letter, be part of an Ι, and thus belong to a name beginning Ἐπ[ι-, the previous word ending in ς. There seems to be another *apex* visible before the Σ, but this is even more doubtful.

The text of the stone will therefore be this:

- -ς] Νικη[φόρου ?, - -
ὁ δεῖνα] Πασίωνος, - -
- -κ]ράτης (-κράτους), - -
? Εὐέλπ]ιστος, Σωτὴρ [Φ ? -
5 - - ο]υς, Ἡρακλ[είδας - -
- -ς Ἐπ[ι - - ? , or - - Σεπ[τ - - ?].

Ibid. p. 463, No. 16. In l. 1 there is room for an Ι between the Ε and Μ, though I cannot see it on the sqeeze, as there is a flaw in the stone here; and this justifies us in restoring ll. 1 and 3 as - - Σε[ι]μή[δ]|η[ς Ἰο]υλίαν Παν|[τει](μ)[ίαν, - - etc. Nothing is lost to the left of the Η in l. 2.

Ibid. p. 466, No. 18. In l. 1 I seem to see ΛΙΙ_ΙΟ on the squeeze, which suggests [Ἀριστ]οδάμου rather than [Αἰνετ]οδάμου: the Ν is not a certain reading.

Ibid. p. 467, No. 20, l. 3. The fifth letter was certainly Κ, not Ν, as Κ is visible on the squeeze. Perhaps the name was Θυμοκ[ράτης], *vel sim.*

Ibid. No. 21, l. 1. After the C there is visible the lower end of a *hasta*, which shows that the name must not be restored Ἀπ(ο)[λλώνιος], but some name beginning with Ἀπο of which the fourth letter had a vertical stroke *e.g.*, Γ, Ι, Κ, Μ, Ν, Π, or Ρ. ΤΗΝ is certainly not lacking, but is some distance to the right of the preceding word, separated by an interval of about a foot.

Ibid. p. 467, No. 22, col. I, l. 5. The first letter visible seems not to be Δ, but rather Λ, with long *apices*, which, however, do not nearly meet in the middle, so we may restore [Καλ]λικράτεος. In l. 8 the first sign seems to be rather Ν, *i.e.* *αν* ligatured.

Ibid. p. 468, No. 23, Col. I, l. 5. The first sign is plainly ⋈N *i.e.* MAN ligatured, which is short for *μάν(τις)*. I have no doubt that Ἀλκιβία Τεισαμενοῦ, who is here *μάντις*, is sister of Σιχάρης Τεισαμενοῦ, as Tillyard suggested (*ad loc.*), as the latter is *μάντις* in *S.M.C.* 205, 206, which seem, like the present inscription, to belong to the late first century B.C. This abbreviation confirms the previous suggestion that the monogram in l. 6 is short for *γρα(μματεύς)*, and it is hardly less certain that the sign in l. 7 which I read as ⋈Γ is short for *μάγι(ρος)*. For the mention of cooks and other functionaries attached to colleges at Sparta see Tod (*S.M.C.* Introd. § 25).

In Col. III I am inclined to restore the remains of l. 1, which I agree with Tillyard in reading ‒‒ı‒‒, ΣΕΙΔΕ[ΚΤΑΣ]. L. 3 shows distinctly the remains of a *sigma* at the end of the line after the *omega*: thus the father's name was Σω[σ - -]. In l. 5 I seem to see ΣΩΥ at the end of the line, and suggest Σω[κλείδα], *vel sim.* In l. 6 I read ΛΥΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ: nothing is visible after the last *sigma*, as the stone is weathered away towards the edge. In l. 7 I read ΞΕΝΩΝ ΑΝ////, *i.e.* Ξένων Ἀν - -, and in l. 8 ΠΕΡΙΚ/ Η. . . . / , *i.e.* Περικ[λ]ῆ[ς - -].

Ibid. p. 471, No. 26. The inscription in l. 1 over the central and right-hand compartments of the stone runs on: several letters are lost from above the central compartment, where the stone is damaged, but there is no doubt as to the restoration or as to the name above the right-hand wreath. My copy gives ЄΙ//////////ΝΟΜΟΥ| |ΠΑΙΛΙΟΥ ΔΑΜΚΡΑΤΙΔ//// which is plainly *ἐ[πὶ πατρο]νόμου* Πο. Αἰλίου Δαμοκρατίδ[α], for whose patronomate we possess other evidence (*B.S.A.* xii, p. 356, (*c*)). In the central wreath the V is quite plain at the end of the name Χαρμοσύνου in l. 4. In the left-hand compartment all the letters above the wreath show plainly on the squeeze, thus:

ЄΠΙΠΑ CωΚΡΑ
ΤΡΟ ΤΟVC
Ν̄

Ibid. p. 472, No. 27. The inscription in the central wreath is not given correctly. There are traces of letters above the ΛΜΣ which appear in the reproduction, but I am not certain what they were. My copy gives the following:

ΓΙ	. .
ΛΑΣ	λας
ΤΑΣΕΥ	τᾶς Εὐ-
ΛΑΙΜΟ	[δ]αιμο-
ΤΕ	τέ-
ΛΟΥΣ	λους.

The first two lines clearly contained a feminine name in the genitive, presumably that of the daughter of Εὐδαιμοτέλης. There is no doubt whatsoever about the word τᾶς, nor can it bear any other explanation, seeing that each of the other two wreaths contains a name in the genitive followed by τοῦ and the father's name.

Ibid. p. 473, No. 29, l. 1. The letter before the O seems to have been T not Γ, as the horizontal stroke is considerably shorter than that of the Γ in l. 5; of the preceding letter only ι is certain: the marks on the stone before it seem to be accidental. In l. 2 Λ is visible before the T, so we may restore -ά]της Εὐκ[λ - -. At the beginning of l. 3 there is ⌣ visible at the bottom of the line, which is no doubt part of a *sigma*, and the Y at the end is plain, so we may read -ς] Εὐδάμου. In l. 4 read -ς Ʒ τὸ β′, which denotes that father and son bore the same name. In l. 7 we perhaps have the rare name [Ἀ]κίν[δυνος], which is known at Sparta (*S.M.C.* 718).

Ibid. p. 447. In *C.I.G.* 1288, l. 3 ⅃ is left of the *delta* at the beginning of the word Δαμακίων. At the end of the line I seem to see K not K. In l. 4 my reading gives ΓΡΟΚΤΑΒΙΟΣΑΓΑΘΙΑΣΥΤΡΑΤΙΒΙΚΛΑΥ∠. There is no doubt about the ligatured TP, nor about the O inside the Π nor the I after the B of Τιβ. It is probable also that the first ΓΑ should be ΓΑ, *i.e.* γρα-, but I cannot be certain, and that we should read Γρα(μματεὺς) τρ(ὶς ?)[1] Ὀκτάβιος Ἀγαθίας, ὑπογρα(μματεὺς) Τιβ. <ι> Κλαύδ[ιος - - .

B.S.A. xiii, p. 188, No. 40, we may restore as follows: . . . . . Καλ]λικράτους γεροντ[εύσας ? τρ]ὶς καὶ πρέσβυς | [γενόμενος] τὸν ἐπὶ Ἄγιδος | [ἐνιαυτόν, κ.τ.λ.

Ibid. p. 189, No. 43. This is, in all probability, *C.I.G.* 1358.

Ibid. p. 190, No. 46, l. 2. Read [ἀποβιώ]σας ἐν Σαμ[οσάτοις, κ.τ.λ.

[1] The curved stroke may after all be accidental, and we should thus read T = T(ίτος): we certainly expect a *praenomen* here.

Ibid. p. 196, No. 63, ll. 7, 8. We should perhaps restore Τεισαμενῶι - - | παισὶν Ἀριστ[οτέλους], or some such name. The rest of the first half of the pentameter will thus contain another name, *i.e.* that of the brother of Tisamenus. The victor was thus crowned together with these two boys. This seems distinctly preferable to my previous suggestion ἄριστ[ος ἐών.

B.S.A. xiv, p. 123. In Part I of the *stemma* delete the two short vertical strokes above Claudia Longina,* which suggest that she was daughter of P. Memmius Damares. Her true parentage is correctly given *ibid.* Part II. In the left-hand portion of the same, delete Timocritus, who appears as father of Alcastus, and insert C. Pomponius before the latter name, as I indicated above in my note on Le Bas-Foucart, No. 174.

Ibid. p. 127, l. 5. For *C.I.G.* 1254 read *C.I.G.* 1249.

Ibid. p. 128, No. 53. I am now inclined to think that the dedicator of this inscription was after all the other (and earlier) P. Memmius Spartiaticus, and that Onesiphorus was perhaps son of, or identical with, the P. Aelius Onesiphorus who was Ephor under Eudamus (*S.M.C.* 204 I).

ARTHUR M. WOODWARD.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1909.

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§ 5.—Lycurgus as Patronomus: a Scottish Parallel.

A modern parallel to the Spartan practice of electing the divine Lycurgus as eponymous Patronomus[1] is to be found in Cramond's *Records of Elgin*, vol. i, p. 91 (New Spalding Club, 1903), under date October 3rd, 1547, in the Burgh Court Book.

'The qlk (*i.e.* quhilk, which) day the haill communate has electit and menit Sanct Geill thair patroun provest for ane zeyr nyxt to cum.' As the note by Cramond says, the council for the year consisted of the patron saint, four bailies, and only eight other councillors. The disastrous battle of Pinkie had been fought against the Protector Somerset on September 10th preceding, and the Elgin contingent had suffered severely.

P. Giles.

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 112.

LACONIA.

I.—EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA, 1909.

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§ 6.—The Menelaion.

(Frontispiece and Plates V—X.)

A little to the south of Sparta and opposite the hamlet of Psychiko, at the point where the Magoula river runs into the Eurotas, the hills on the left or eastern bank of the latter approach quite close to the river. These hills, which stand high above the plain, have long been identified with those on which, according to Polybius, the Menelaion[1] stood, and as the site of Therapnai. In fact the statements of this author and of Livy make it practically certain that these are the hills in question. They were first explored by Ross in 1833, and he claimed as the shrine of Helen and Menelaos the building that he began to excavate on the principal peak close to the modern chapel of Hagios Elias, and directly above the Eurotas. No other Greek building has yet been found on these heights, so that we may for the present assume with considerable probability that this one, discovered by Ross, is the shrine of Helen and Menelaos mentioned by Herodotus and Pausanias. The former speaks of a shrine of Helen, and the latter, who refers to another shrine of Helen[2] in Sparta itself near the

[1] Herodotus, vi, 61; Isokrates, x, 63; Polybius, v, 18, 21 ff.; Livy, xxxiv, 28; Leake, *Morea*, ii, p. 138, cf. Pl. II; *Pelop.* p. 161; Boblaye, *Recherches*, pp. 81 ff.; Aldenhoven, *Itinéraire*, p. 333; *Expéd. de Morée*, ii, Pl. XLV; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii, pp. 239, 245; Bursian, *Geogr. Griechenlands*, ii, p. 129; Vischer, *Erinnerungen*, p. 380; Ross. *Arch. Aufsaetze*, ii, pp. 243 ff.; Jochmus, *Geogr. Journal*, 1857, p. 11 with map, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, Pl. I; Kastriotis, Πρακτικὰ, 1900, pp. 74 ff.; for other literature see Frazer, *Pausanias*, iii, p. 360; Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 340 ff.

[2] iii, 15, 3.

Platanistas, calls this building in Therapnai the temple of Menelaos, and says that Helen and Menelaos were buried here. Isokrates tells us that they were worshipped in Therapnai as gods. Therefore, although the earliest authority speaks only of a shrine of Helen, we may assume that Helen and Menelaos were worshipped here together, for other authors relate that there were festivals of both at Sparta.[1] As regards the cult, it seems fairly clear that Helen was an old mother or nature goddess,[2] and this is confirmed by the votive offerings found in our excavations, for they closely resemble, as shown below, those from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, who also was a nature goddess and allied with Eileithyia. The Rhodian tale of Helen Dendritis, and Theocritus' reference to the tree of Helen still further confirm this view,[3] and we may mention in the same connection, the xoanon-like figures of Helen on the Spartan Dioskouroi reliefs.[4] For the cult of Menelaos we have no reference, except the doubtful one in Pausanias to his plane-tree in Arcadia.[5] It is of course possible that he was a male nature god, but in the absence of information it is better not to make conjectures. Probably the nature goddess was only later called Helen ; the addition of Menelaos to her cult would follow as a matter of course, especially since there was a legend that they were both buried in Therapnai, and since, to judge by the Mycenaean finds here, this was the site of the earliest Sparta.

THE EXCAVATION.

We were led to re-excavate the Menelaion by the report of finds made by shepherds in the neighbourhood of the building. The work occupied nearly three weeks and we employed in it between twenty and thirty men. We not only cleared the extant remains of the building itself, but also carefully examined the sides of the hill immediately round it. A trial was made on the southern peak of the hill where the modern chapel stands, but proved fruitless. A trial on the eastern peak resulted in the discovery of a Mycenaean house with walls of unbaked brick coated with painted plaster,

[1] Hesychius, *s. vv.* Ἑλένεια and Κάνναθρα ; Athenagoras, *Suppl.* 14.

[2] Cf. *S.M.C.* pp. 116 ff.

[3] Wide, *Lak. Kulte*, pp. 340 ff.

[4] *S.M.C.*, Nos. 201–203, 318, 362 ; we may compare also the legend that Helen founded a shrine of Eileithyia at Argos, Pausanias, ii, 22. 6.

[5] Pausanias, viii, 23. 4.

and numerous fragments of late Mycenaean pottery including a plain askos. Examination of the hill to the south confirmed Tsountas' report[1] of Mycenaean potsherds here with the scanty remains of buildings. These Mycenaean remains will be fully examined and excavated in the course of the next season.

The present state of the building at the Menelaion is shown in the illustrations, plans, and sections that accompany this report (Frontispiece, Pl. V. and Fig. 1). Round the top peak of the hill, which serves as a kind of core, is built a strong revetment wall of large squared blocks of conglomerate. This wall stands on a narrow plinth, which in its turn rests on a single foundation course of small blocks bedded in the virgin soil. At the north-east corner, owing to the greater depth of the virgin soil, the foundation has six courses and is 2·18 m. deep. The blocks of the revetment are very carefully cut and fitted, and some are 1·50 m. long, ·55 m. thick, and ·65 m. high. This wall which still stands in places to a height of about two metres, was filled up inside to form a large lofty platform measuring 16·60 by 23·80 metres. Access to the top of this platform was obtained by a ramp which cuts into it on the west side. This ramp is supported by the main revetment wall, which was probably not so high on this side, and by an inner wall built, so to speak, in the filling of the platform. On the outer face of this latter wall the stones bear clear marks of the sloping pavement slabs of the ramp. Though the actual pavement of the ramp has long since disappeared, the foundation of rough slabs packed tight with stiff red earth still remains. Judging by the course of the inner wall the ramp when it came to the north-west corner, turned to the east to reach the surface of the platform. It is impossible to say how high the platform was, but since its surface must have been high enough to cover all the foundations of the building erected on it, the original height must have been at least five metres. The restoration shown in the elevation by dotted lines is to be taken merely as a suggestion, and not as based on any certain traces still existing. The revetment wall, as conjectured by Ross,[2] seems to have been crowned by a frieze of fine-grained, bluish, local marble, of which several fragments were found, notably a portion of a triglyph

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889, p. 130.

[2] Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 343; we found a second block like that mentioned by Kastriotis, *op. cit.* p. 82.

FIG. 1.—THE MENELAION FROM THE SOUTH.

block very well worked.[1] The cutting of the tops of the triglyphs strongly recalls, so Mr. George informs us, good fifth-century work, such as the Parthenon. On the surface of the platform stood a small building, the foundations of which measure 5·45 by 8·60 metres. There is no evidence to show whether this was an altar-tomb or a small temple, though the latter is more probable. To it perhaps belong some blocks of the same fine, bluish, local marble, which seem too small to have come from the frieze. One of these blocks shows the mark of a double T-shaped clamp, and another bears as a mason's mark, a ⊗. The revetment described cannot have been very strong, especially on the eastern and southern sides, where the thrust of the filling when wet, was probably great. Consequently the two big blocks that bond into the filling at the south-east corner seem to have been so placed to strengthen this weak spot. Be this as it may, it seems certain that on the eastern and southern sides, some little time after it was first built, the revetment showed signs of giving way either through subsidence caused by earthquakes or from inward pressure. To counteract this a wide, stepped terrace was built against the revetment on the sides mentioned, to serve as a kind of buttress. The fact that the terrace hides the plinth shows clearly that it is later than the platform. The work of the revetment and especially of the triglyph block referred to suggests that it was built in the fifth century. It is possible that this building was erected to replace an earlier shrine destroyed by the earthquake of 464 B.C.,[2] which, as we know, left few buildings in Sparta undamaged. At all events the building which we have excavated is not the first that has stood on this site. In the pocket of black earth on the east slope, which will be described below, we found several large blocks of soft white poros, carefully cut and shaped, one of them bearing the fragmentary inscription published in § 4 (3) by Mr. Woodward.[3] Since the lead figurines and pottery found in this pocket are dated to the end of the seventh century, the building to which the blocks belonged would have been earlier than that date. Further, in clearing the rubbish on the north and east sides we found several blocks of hard, coarse grained poros, some of which have U-shaped projections for lifting them into position, as in some of the

[1] Cf. the terrace wall at Corinth crowned by a triglyph frieze, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1902, pp. 306 ff., Pls. VI, VII.

[2] Thucydides, i, 101–103; Diodorus, xi, 63; Pausanias, iv, 24. 6; Plutarch, *Kimon*, 16.

[3] *v.* pp. 87 foll.

blocks of the Aphaia temple at Aegina.[1] Other blocks of this stone are built into the supporting terrace, but it is impossible to say to what building they belonged. It seems at all events to have been earlier than the one still standing.

At the eastern end of the north side of the platform wall we found some very ruinous walls, which seem to have belonged to a house for the staff of the shrine, or for use as a store-chamber. Since the floor of this house, which consists of broken poros beaten into a hard pavement, is just below the level of the plinth of the revetment, we may assume that it is slightly earlier than the platform. And as the earliest date for the deposit above this floor is the sixth century, it does not make against the fifth-century date suggested for the main building. But naturally the level of the house-floor rose with the accumulation of rubbish, and its fabric needed repairs from time to time. Below the surface earth above the house, we found four broken antefixes and many fragments of stamped tiles of which there are two types. The first type, the rarer, is inscribed :—

Δαμόσιος
'Αθάνας Νι

and is very common all over the site of ancient Sparta, having been found, amongst other places, at the Chalkioikos site, and may be assigned to the third century B.C.[2] The other type, of which we found at least fifty examples, is inscribed both on the inside and outside : ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΚΛΕΟϹ. This type, which is new, strongly resembles the tiles from the City Wall inscribed : 'Επὶ Πασιτέλεος, which are dated to the first century B.C.[3] We may conclude that the Menelaion was a state shrine, for the tiles found here are inscribed Δαμόσιος like those from the Chalkioikos, and not 'Ιεροὶ like those from the Orthia site.[4]

THE STRATIFICATION.[5]

As stated above, we found the deepest deposit at the north-east corner below the house already mentioned. Here, a little above the virgin soil some fragments of Mycenaean ware appeared, including only a few pieces

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 29, type 13.
[2] Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, p. 50.
[3] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 36, type 42.
[4] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 31.
[5] See the plans and sections on Plate V.

painted with plain belts of the ordinary red-brown colour, and several plain kylix stems. All these fragments, which are badly baked and of soft clay, seem to belong to the latest mainland class of Mycenaean pottery. A little above these was a mass of stones, which may once have formed part of a building. In the earth above the stones we found no pottery at all till we reached a beaten floor of poros chips, with which was a thin layer of carbonised matter. In the stratum over this was a rich deposit of bronzes and terracottas,[1] and vase fragments. The pottery consisted of ordinary Laconian Geometric ware like that from the Orthia site, and of the early Orientalising Laconian I pottery. With these were Proto-Corinthian and Sub-Geometric ware, two pieces of which are mentioned by Mr. Droop,[2] some small pots of the class called style A,[3] and not more than six sherds of Laconian II ware. There were also a few pieces of imported early Corinthian ware including an aryballos with a procession of warriors. Since, according to Mr. Droop, the Laconian II pottery[4] belongs to the end of the seventh century B.C., we obtain as the period of this deposit, the later ninth to the last quarter of the seventh century B.C. Above this again was another layer of earth in which nothing was found, and over it was the beaten poros floor mentioned above as that of the house at the north-east corner. The stratum above this was very rich in terracottas, lead figurines, and bronzes.[5] The pottery included pieces of Laconian III, IV, and V, amongst which a ribbed Laconian V kylix stem and the small fragment mentioned by Mr. Droop are the most notable.[6] There were also quantities of the small, plain votive vases like those from Angelona,[7] and several pieces of Panathenaic amphorae,[8] which may be dated to the later sixth and fifth centuries. In the top were many pieces of ribbed, black-glazed ware[9] of the kind that became common all over the Greek world at the close of the fourth century. It was with these that the stamped tiles and the antefix fragments referred to above were found. Thus, since both the lead figurines and the pottery extend

[1] The terracottas, bronzes, and lead figurines from this stratum are described below in their respective sections under the heading A.

[2] *v.* p. 150, Fig. 15. [3] v. *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 128 ff.

[4] *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 45 ff.

[5] These finds are described below in their respective sections under the heading B.

[6] *v.* p. 157.

[7] *B.S.A.* xi, pp. 83, Figs. 2–4, 6; xiii, p. 129; cf. *S.M.C.* p. 225.

[8] Cf. those from the Chalkioikos site, *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 152 ff.

[9] Cf. Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 394 ff.

from the third to the fifth Laconian period, and there is also early Hellenistic ware, the limits of this deposit are the sixth and late fourth centuries B.C. It was this stratum that yielded the lead figurines and terracottas found by Ross and Kastriotis, for they both dug along the north end. One piece of Laconian I pottery in the Sparta Museum[1] shows that the latter in clearing the plinth touched the earlier stratum below. This probably accounts for the finding in our excavation of two or three small pieces of Laconian I ware in loose earth above the upper floor.

On the east side of the north-east corner there was no upper floor nor late deposit. We found only the lower floor with the early stratum underneath the supporting terrace, and again below this and just above virgin soil, one or two pieces of late Mycenaean ware. Towards the south end of the east side outside and below the terrace there was a thin layer of Geometric pottery, which also contained some of the Proto-Corinthian, Sub-Geometric, and Laconian I styles, and a few bronzes and terracottas.[2] At the bottom of this layer a few late Mycenaean sherds appeared, and in the surface earth some late terracottas like those found above the upper floor at the north end.

On the east side of the north-east corner the Geometric and Laconian I deposit above the lower floor ran down the hill for a short distance as shown in section A on Plate V., and then for some distance above the ridge of rock marked on the section, there were no finds at all. But below the edge of this was a rich pocket of soft, black earth which contained quantities of lead figurines of the Laconian II class, archaic terracottas, and bronzes.[3] There were also some Sub-Geometric ware and much Laconian II pottery, which is important, as showing a stage of the development of the Laconian style only scantily represented at the Orthia site or elsewhere in Sparta. All the best pieces of these wares are illustrated and discussed by Mr. Droop[4] in his paper on the pottery. Below this pocket of black earth was a thin layer which at the top of the slope yielded a good deal of Geometric and Proto-Corinthian ware, and at the bottom, a few late Mycenaean sherds, mostly unpainted. The Geometric and Proto-Corinthian deposit extended some distance to the west beyond the limit of the black

[1] *S.M.C.* 553 B 10; for signs of disturbance in this stratum see below pp. 117 note 1; 129, 149.

[2] These are described below under the heading A in their respective sections.

[3] These are described below under the heading B in their respective sections.

[4] *v.* pp. 150 foll., Figs. 15–18.

earth, above a modern cultivation terrace. It was the chance discovery of this pocket that led to our excavation. Trenches run further west along the slope to the saddle between the Menelaion and the modern chapel produced nothing but the inscription published by Mr. Woodward.[1]

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THE TERRACOTTA FIGURINES.

About 300 terracotta figurines, excluding many indistinguishable fragments, were found during the course of the excavation. Of these some 150 were found together with pottery of the second Laconian style[2] in the rich pocket in the slope to the east of the building,[3] and so can be dated to the later portion of the seventh century. The other periods of Laconian culture are not so well represented. Few figurines occurred in the deposit containing only pottery of the Geometric style and these were not peculiar to it. The upper strata also, dating from the sixth century onwards, do not admit of much subdivision. Consequently the whole series of figurines falls into three main divisions. The first (A) contains those examples found with pottery of the Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, and first Laconian styles, the second (B) those belonging to the second Laconian period, and the third (C) all those of later date. Each of these three groups contains certain types which seem peculiar to it. These are discussed first and the commoner and less characteristic examples, which continue for a longer period of time, are considered in a separate section.

The remains of three Mycenaean figurines (all of a late date; two being of the ordinary female type, cf. Fig. 4; 59, 63, and the third a bull's head) cannot be considered as falling into the same series as the rest, since there is no evidence to show what relation they bear to the rest of the figurines except that they are certainly earlier. With this exception the whole series seems continuous. Mr. Farrell's[4] paper on the archaic terracottas from the sanctuary of Orthia naturally applies largely to those from the Menelaion, but it should be noted that, although the total number from the former sanctuary is far greater, the evidence for the end of the

[1] *v.* p. 86.
[2] For the periods of Laconian pottery, cf. *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 46 ff.
[3] Cf. p. 115.
[4] *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 48 ff.

seventh century is apparently stronger at the latter. There is also a considerable difference in the types from these two neighbouring shrines, despite their many similarities.

A.—*Found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, and Laconian I Pottery.*

The following small group of figurines are found, with one exception, in this period and perhaps coincide with the importation of Proto-Corinthian pottery; cf. Fig. 2; 3, 7, 8, and Pl. VI, 14, which probably represents a mouse.[1] The fabric is light in colour, the surface soft and in appearance dusty. The paint is brown. The lion's head Fig. 2; 9, has analogies with the above and belongs to the same period. The fabric, however, is different, the clay being hard and of a pinkish brown tint and the surface good and lustrous. This last specimen may well be local and the other four may perhaps be imported. They seem to resemble, to some extent, a type of figurine that has been found at Syracuse,[2] Gela,[3] Thera,[4] Kalauria,[5] and Orchomenos,[6] but judging from the examples of it in the National Museum, Athens, this resemblance is not exact.

The following do not fall under any fixed type:—

Fig. 2; 2. Plaque. Traces of ornamentation in black paint still survive. The two bottom corners are pierced, so presumably this plaque was nailed on to some other object. The design is not unlike certain ivory plaques[7] from the Orthia site and the present example may perhaps be a copy of one.

Pl. VI, 28. Plaque; pierced near the bottom like the preceding. No trace of paint can be discerned. In style it seems more advanced and is probably one of the latest specimens included under the above heading.

Pl. VI, 29. This example should probably be completed by the addition of a horse, in which case it would belong to the series of riders and horses which continues throughout the whole deposit. The curious shape of

[1] Found above the upper poros floor by N.E. corner in a stratum there is reason to suspect, cf. p. 115.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1895, p. 384, Fig. 3.

[3] *Mon. Antich.* 1906, p. 715, Fig. 547.

[4] *Thera*, ii, p. 28, Fig. 71.

[5] *Ath. Mitt.* 1895, p. 322, Fig. 38.

[6] *B.C.H.* 1895, p. 171, Fig. 6.

[7] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 78, Fig. 17 *c*; others exist as yet unpublished.

FIG. 2.—MENELAION: TERRACOTTA FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

the head is unique and a large conical mask with two holes for the eyes is probably intended. Its early date precludes any direct connection between this masked figure and the masks found at the sanctuary of Orthia.

Pl. VI, 30. Perhaps a fragment from a vase. Black paint on a white ground. For the clean-shaved upper lip and beard cf. Pl. VI, 21. This has also been noticed in the terracotta figurines from Tarentum, but does not seem to have been peculiar to Sparta or to Spartan colonies.[1]

B.—*Found with Laconian II Pottery.*

The most interesting figurines belonging to this period[2] are a small group, distinguishable from the rest by their peculiar white clay. These are illustrated in Pl. VI, 15, 16, 19–23, 27, 31; 15 is a portion of a *protome*, the head is missing, but a necklace is still preserved; 16 is probably a frog; 22 the fore part of some animal with the paws bent underneath; 23 fragment of a water bird; and 31 portion of a bird with webbed feet. The rest are obvious. The paint on these figurines varies; purple is used in 15 and 23, and black in 21 and 22. The horse's head 20 is in execution one of the best figurines from the Menelaion. The details in this case seem to have been finished off with a knife. For purposes of comparison a small lion carved out of poros is illustrated here, cf. Pl. VI, 17. It was found together with these figurines and, artistically, falls into the same series with them. The white close-grained material of which all these specimens are made is totally unlike any known Laconian clay and it therefore seems reasonable to regard this whole group as imported.

The large fragment shown in Fig. 2; 4 is similar to the above, although the fabric is somewhat coarser. The back is hollow.

The following may be compared with the group just described, mainly on account of their small size:—

Pl. VI, 13 and 25. Both lions; traces of purple paint are visible. The clay is of a light colour.

Pl. VI, 18. A small sphinx. The background is due to the overflowing of the mould. The clay is red.

[1] *Ann. d. I.* 1883, pp. 194 ff.
[2] One example from above the upper poros floor, cf. p. 114, note 5.

FIG. 3.—MENELAION: TERRACOTTA FIGURINES. (SCALE *ca.* 1 : 2.)

Pl. VI, 24. A running hare with the head thrown back.

Pl. VI, 26. Small grotesque.

The fabric of the last two is ordinary.

Figurines of more ordinary size and style, belonging to this period, were found in considerable numbers. Nearly all of them were also discovered in the earlier deposit and, consequently, are discussed in the next section. A few, however, require notice here as perhaps being peculiar to the end of the seventh century.

Fig. 3; 32. Large plaque. The back is flat. One figure at least is missing, so that it seems useless to attempt an identification. Traces of black and white paint exist, but they are too scanty to show the original decoration. For the hair cf. Fig. 3; 37.

Fig. 3; 33. Chiefly remarkable for the long hair and the almost complete absence of arms, combined with careful modelling in other respects. A necklace is worn. The lines on the shoulders may be intended to represent a short cloak like that on an early statue[1] in the 'Cretan style' now in the Louvre.

Fig. 3; 34. For the position of the fists clenched in front of the chest[2] cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 66, Fig. 7*g*. The black horizontal bands across the body and legs suggest an early date and perhaps this example is here out of place. The older form of decoration does, however, continue for a long time.

Fig. 3; 38. No other example of this type was found. The clay is a brick red.

Types common to A *and* B.

Under this heading are included those types which were found in both the preceding periods and also a few specimens which, from the nature of the deposit in which they were discovered, cannot be dated with greater accuracy. On the whole very little change can be observed in the commoner and more grotesque types; the only sure sign of comparatively late date seems to be the use of purple paint. Black paint on a cream or

[1] *Rev. Arch.* 1908, Pl. X; cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 80, Fig. 18*a*.

[2] Perhaps the locks of hair are grasped in either hand, as in a bone statuette from the Orthia site, *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 94, Fig. 27*c*.

FIG. 4.—MENELAION: TERRACOTTA FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

white ground is certainly an older form of decoration, but nevertheless it continues in use up to the end of the seventh century. In many cases no sign of any paint at all remains, but in these the surface almost always shows signs of wear, and probably in its original state nearly every one of these figurines was painted.

Fig. 3; 37, 39, *protomai*. The back is flat. Some examples have a small hole or socket in the top of the head, perhaps intended for a metal loop. The hair is done in either two or three locks and sometimes also is represented by a series of parallel horizontal lines. Seven examples in all were found. In the later ones the features are more elongated and the lips narrower.

Fig. 4; 48, 49, 52. Probably all varieties of the so-called 'bread-baker' type. It is common in both periods but does not occur in the lowest deposit of all with only 'Geometric pottery.'[1]

Fig. 4; 51, 62. Both common types, similar in date to the above.

Fig. 4; 50. The shoulder pins are rare. Compare with this 57 and 61, both possibly fragments of one figurine. On these last fragments traces of purple and black paint still exist. The clay is grey owing to bad firing.

Fig. 4; 56. Leg of a throne. Compare the lion-legged thrones on the Spartan hero-reliefs.

Fig. 4; 60. An unusual type and probably one of the earlier specimens included in this section.

The following require no comment, Fig. 2; 5, 6, Fig. 4; 53–55, 58, and Fig. 3; 43. The last is a fragment from a vase, and 55 is hollow at the back.

C.—*Found with Pottery of the Later Laconian Styles.*

This section contains all those examples of later date than the second Laconian style. Some were found in the surface earth, and some of the figurines found by Kastriotis in 1889 and 1900 have been also included to make this account complete.

Any smaller chronological division is not really justified by the evidence.

[1] Cf. Farrell, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

The characteristic feature of this group is the very numerous series of riders on horseback. This type has already been noticed as occurring in the two previous periods, but it is far more prominent in the third. A hoard consisting almost entirely of this type was found in the small building adjoining the sanctuary at the north-east corner.

Typical examples belonging to various periods are shown in Fig. 3; 35, 36, 41, 42, 46, 47, and perhaps 44 and 45 belong also to this group. None are executed with any care and the type throughout is conventional. In many cases the sex of the rider is doubtful, but the majority are certainly female, at times apparently seated astride and at times sideways. Considering the number of examples of this type it seems reasonable to suppose that it is connected with the cult of the building, and, in this case, the goddess on horseback would be Helen. The fact that this type[1] also occurs at the sanctuary of Orthia, but in smaller numbers, seems no objection.[2]

The following examples are all of a late date; some of them may perhaps be representations of the goddess:—

Pl. VI, 10, 11. Two miniature figures covered with black glaze.

Pl. VI, 12. Small grotesque; black glaze as above.

Fig. 5, together with Fig. 2; 1 give all the other characteristic types of the later period; of these 79–88 were found by Kastriotis. Although none of these are of any real artistic value, a considerable number show careful work. The most noticeable are the following:—

Fig. 5; 80, 81. Hydrophoroi = *S.M.C.* p. 237, No. 553 (10), and for similar types cf. *B.C.H.* iii, p. 213; *Jahreshefte* 1901, p. 44, Fig. 51. 78: the head dress is unusual. 77: base. 1: the only example found of so large a size. 73: what this represents is obscure, it is, however, very carefully modelled.

The fabric of nearly all these late figurines is red and dusty in appearance. In nearly every case the surface is much worn. The predominant fabric in the other two periods is brown rather than red.

'Loom weights' occurred throughout the upper strata but none were noticed in the lowest.

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 53, Fig. 2 *a*, *b*, *c*; *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 38, Fig. 26 for similar examples from Lusoi.

[2] Cf. p. 109.

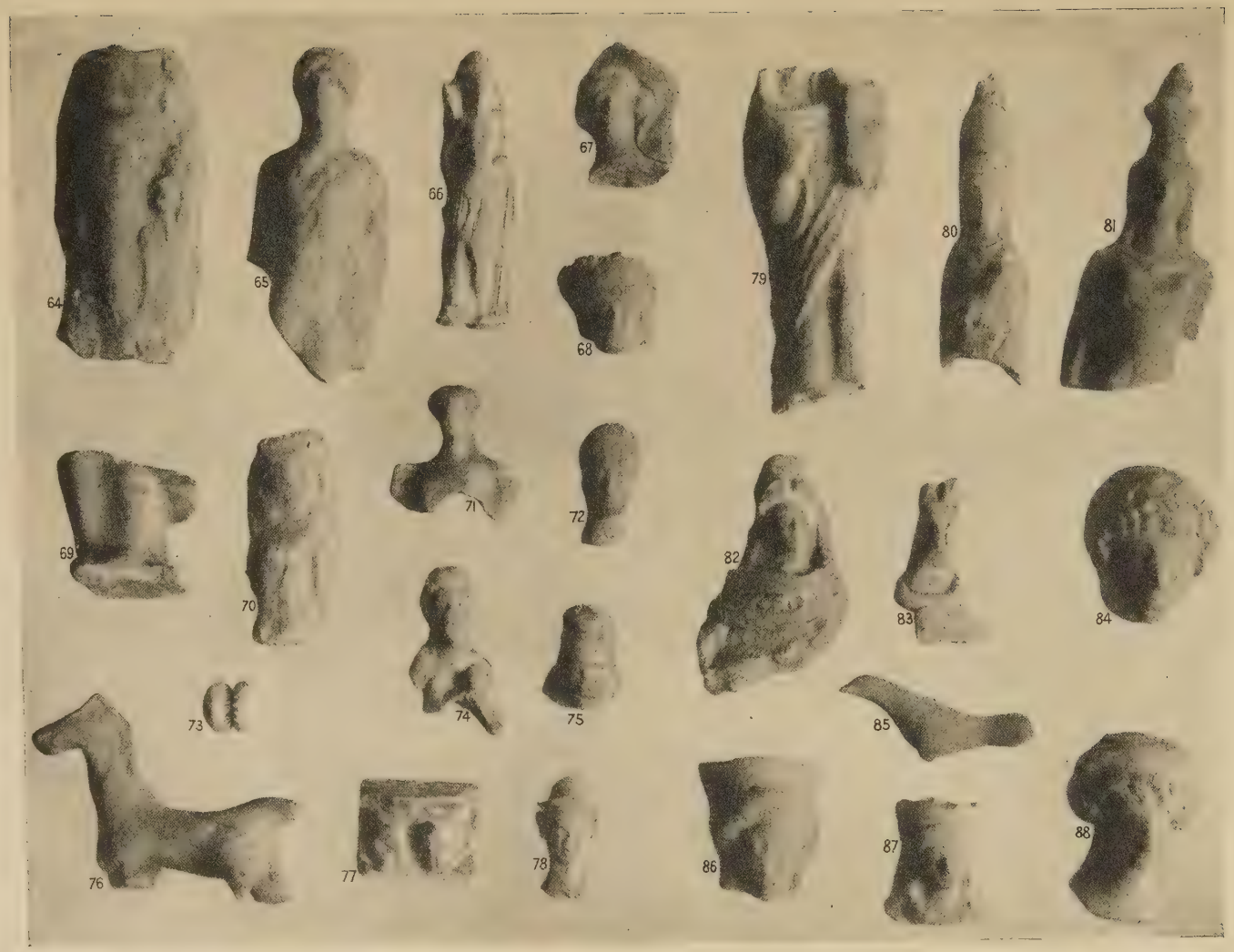


FIG. 5.—MENELAION: TERRACOTTA FIGURINES. (SCALE *ca.* 1 : 2.)

Conclusion.

The figurines from the first two periods are closely connected both in type and in technique, but between them and those of later date there seems to be a gap. This is probably more apparent than real, being due to lack of evidence. Only one type, however, that of the goddess on horseback, is found in all three divisions.

The common grotesque types Fig. 4; 49, 51, 52, 62 are also found at the Orthia site,[1] but it is noticeable that the obscene figurines which are common at that sanctuary do not occur at the Menelaion.

A comparison with the contemporary figurines from the Argive Heraion brings out certain points of difference. In both cases the costume should be Doric. In the Laconian figurines shoulder pins and fibulae are very rare. At Argos on the contrary, they are very prominent. The Argive women according to Herodotus[2] wore pins of unusual size, but the contrast is so marked between the Argive and Laconian terracottas that a further difference of costume seems to be implied. In the same passage Herodotus also mentions that the Athenian costume used to be like the Doric costume that was in vogue at Corinth. There is therefore literary evidence for local varieties of Dorian dress, and in view of the archaeological evidence it seems probable that the usual dress at Sparta was different somewhat from the Dorian costume represented on non-Laconian vases and monuments. The *apoptygma*, when it exists at all, is of small dimensions; the upper part of the costume seems close fitting and the belt is nearly always prominent. The absence of a large overfold would in itself, allow small pins to be used.

That highly decorated fibulae were used at Sparta is certain, but they do not seem to have been worn on the shoulders so conspicuously as elsewhere.

The present specimens are too much worn to enable the decoration of the dress to be made out. A fringe, however, can still be discerned on one (Fig. 3; 33). The ivory plaques from the Orthia site show that the usual pattern was geometric and that it extended all over the garment.

M. S. THOMPSON.

[1] Farrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff., Fig. 7. [2] Hdt. v, 87.

THE LEAD FIGURINES.

The chronology and arrangement of the lead figurines from the Menelaion depend largely on those found in the stratified deposits at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. The stratification there has made it possible to divide them into six periods corresponding to the pottery, as follows: Lead O, parallel with Proto-Corinthian ware,[1] circa 750 B.C.; Lead I parallel, with the early Orientalising pottery, Laconian I, 700–625 B.C.[2]; Lead II, parallel with Laconian II pottery (early Cyrenaic), and found with it, in the latest part of the archaic deposit below the sand round the primitive temple and along the northern edge of the cobble pavement,[3] 625–600 B.C.; Lead III–IV, parallel with Laconian III and IV pottery, found in the earliest deposits above the sand to the north and the south of the sixth-century temple,[4] circa 600–500 B.C.; Lead V, parallel with Laconian V pottery, found amongst the deposit to the east of the altar and in the houses beyond it,[5] circa 500–425 B.C.; Lead VI, found amongst the houses to the east of the altar with Laconian VI pottery,[5] circa 425–350 B.C.

The differences which divide these periods from one another may be considered true for our present purpose, since they hold good for the hundred thousand figurines discovered at the Orthia site. In the first period the figurines are thick and practically confined to obvious imitations of jewellery, while in the second (Lead II) the figurines are much more numerous and human and animal types first occur. In the third (Lead II) they are more numerous still, especially the animal types, bulls now appearing for the first time, and also solid statuettes and plaques. In the fourth period (Lead III–IV) there is a complete change of types; the winged goddesses are quite different (contrast Figs. 6 and 9); Athenas appear (Fig. 9); spike wreaths, which are exceedingly common, take the place of ball wreaths; warriors and women are much smaller (contrast Fig. 6, Pl. VII and Figs. 9 and 10), and in general, though solid statuettes still occur, the fabric of the figurines is much inferior and jewellery types practically disappear. In the fifth period there is a great decrease in the number of the types employed and of the figurines found, but three new types appear, an

[1] *B.S.A.* xii, Pl. III, p. 61, Fig. 9.
[2] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 30.
[3] *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 18, 22 ff., 32 ff.
[4] *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 35 ff., Pl. II.
[5] *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 9 ff., Fig. 4; 40 ff., Pl. I.

FIG. 6.—MENELAION: LEAD FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

Athena (Fig. 9; 14), a fisherman (Fig. 10; 35), and a winged goddess (Fig. 9; 1). In the sixth and last period (Lead V) comparatively few figurines are found and these are confined to a few types such as spike wreaths, deer, and thin pierced discs, which type occurs in this period only.[1]

But apart from this, the evidence of the stratification and especially the pottery at the Menelaion, makes it possible to divide the lead found there into three clearly defined groups. The earliest (A) are those found with late Geometric, Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I pottery above the lower floor at the north-east corner. The second division (B) comprises all the figurines found in the pocket of black earth on the eastern slope, which by the pottery and the lead, is obviously contemporaneous with the Orthia pottery classed as Laconian II. The latest (C) are those found above the upper floor between the walls at the north end, to which must be added the figurines excavated by Ross and Kastriotis along the same side.[2]

A.—*Figurines found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, and Laconian I Pottery.*

The earliest figurines are a pierced disc (Fig. 8; 34), which is similar to an ornament worn by a Cypriote terracotta,[3] and the fragmentary plaque (Fig. 8; 33) which is hard to classify, for such plaques, at the Orthia site,[4] are found with Lead II. But from the stratum in which they were found these two figurines probably belong to the first period, Lead O. With these were also two fragments of women similar to those in Fig. 6.

Slightly later than these, but from the same stratum, and probably belonging to the period of Laconian I pottery, are two warriors like those on Plate VII, three solid rings and one ball and two spike wreaths like those in Fig. 8; 26, 30, 28, and a scarab ring like Fig. 8; 21.

B.—*Figurines found with Laconian II Pottery.*

The 1523 figurines found in the deposit of black earth already referred to, are much more important. These, as stated above, belong to the period of pottery and lead classed as Laconian II. The first large

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 11, Fig. 4.
[2] *S.M.C.*, pp. 228 ff.
[3] *B.M.Cat. Terracottas*, Pl. XIV.
[4] *B.S.A.* xii, p. 323, Fig. 3*b*.

group is that of winged goddesses, of which there are at least twenty-nine types. Most interesting are the two varieties (Fig. 6; 1, 3), in which the goddess is shown holding a lion in each hand, This type has been already illustrated and discussed elsewhere,[1] so that it is unnecessary to deal with it here. Of the other types Fig. 6; 20 is important,[2] since it is common in Lead I and also occurs in Lead III–IV; Fig. 6; 2, 6 occur in Lead II only and the former has not yet been found at the Orthia site. The other varieties are more or less common to both Lead I and II.

Of the female figurines, such as those shown in Fig. 6; 27–39, there are about twenty different types, and these are common to both Lead I and II, especially Fig. 6; 31. Of the severer style (Fig. 6; 21–26) there are ten types: two of these (Fig. 6; 22, 23), which represent votaries bringing pomegranates as offerings, are common to Lead I and II, while the others seem peculiar to Lead II. Figurines, such as Fig. 6; 21, 24, 25, 26, show clearly that the costume of the female figurines is an ordinary *chiton* girt at the waist as a rule. The idea that they wear a separate skirt and bodice[3] seems to have been based on figurines like Fig. 6; 27, in which the body is *en face* and the legs are in profile. There is no definite sign in any of them of a separate bodice, or of a skirt at all resembling the Mycenaean flounced skirt.

In the warriors shown on Plate VII, 1–16, of which there are about twenty-eight varieties, two (Plate VII, 9, 14) belong to Lead III–IV and one is typical (Plate VII, 7) of Lead II. It is noticeable that the patterns on the shields are all decorative and usually of the rosette type. Only one pattern, the running wheel, is at all common on vase paintings of the period.[4]

Of the next four figurines three (Plate VII, 17, 19, 20) are peculiar to Lead II: the first seems to be a helmeted flute-player, the third is a Satyric type, such as appears on Corinthian vases,[5] and the fourth represents a woman in a long chiton playing a lyre: the second, a peculiar type of man, occurs in Lead I as well.

Cocks (Plate VII, 21) are rare in Lead I but are frequent in

[1] *J.H.S.* 1909, pp. 293 ff., Figs. 10, 11.
[2] *J.H.S.* 1909, p. 293, Fig. 9.
[3] *B.S.A.* ix, p. 386; *B.S.A.* xii, p. 324; but see *S.M.C.* p. 230.
[4] Cf. *e.g.* Studniczka, *Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 24.
[5] *e.g.* Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885, Pl. VII.

FIG. 7.—MENELAION: LEAD FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

Lead II;[1] similar, but smaller cocks and of different types, occur in Lead III–IV.

Rampant goats (Plate VII, 23, 24) occur rarely in Lead I, more commonly in Lead II, and rarely in Lead III–IV.

Horses (we found fifty in this deposit divided into five types, to one of which belong forty-three specimens) also are more frequent in Lead II than in I, and are rare in Lead III–IV (Plate VII, 25–28). The continuance of these animal types is an important factor in determining the sequence of the different periods.

Sphinxes, of which there were here eight varieties, are less common in Lead I than in II, and very rare in Lead III–IV. Of those here figured (Plate VII, 29–34, Fig. 7; 1–3), three types (Plates VII, 33, Fig. 7; 2, 3) are found both in Lead I and II; the others seem to be confined to Lead II only. The most remarkable is Fig. 7; 30; it is a pendant, as is shown clearly by an example from the Orthia site, which has a hole bored through the top. Lions again, of which there are eight varieties, occur more frequently in Lead II than in I, and not often in Lead III–IV. Of those here figured, four (Fig. 7; 4, 10, 11,[2] 8, and 12) belong to both Lead I and II, three (Fig. 7; 5, 6, 9) occur only in Lead II, and one (Fig. 7; 7) though commonest in Lead II, occurs occasionally in Lead I and in III–IV.

In Fig. 7; 13–18 are shown different varieties of the grilles that occur from Lead I to Lead III–IV, and are still inexplicable. Dr. Rouse's view[3] that they were bases for statuettes like the open-work bases of the Geometric bronze animals from Olympia is untenable, for as seen in the illustrations, there are no traces whatsoever of any attachment to their upper surface.

The two ornaments (Fig. 7; 19, 20) are clearly lead imitations of jewellery, which belong both to Lead I and II: the first recalls some gold work from Rhodes,[4] and the other has a vague resemblance to some Mycenaean gold ornaments.[5] The purpose of the grids (Fig. 7; 21–22),

[1] Cf. the cocks on Laconian vases, *B.S.A.* xiv, pp. 37 ff.

[2] This type occurs amongst the figurines found by Kastriotis (*S.M.C.* p. 226, Fig. 80). As most of his figurines must have come from above the upper floor at the north end, it might be thought that this type belonged to Lead III–IV as well, but at the Orthia site it has not yet appeared later than Lead II.

[3] *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 15, note 8.

[4] *Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 41; Salzmann, *Camirus*, Pl. I.

[5] Schliemann, *Ilios*, Figs. 836, 838; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, Fig. 175.

which belong to Lead I and II, is as yet unknown. The two plates (Fig. 7; 23–24) are also common to Lead I and II and imitate gold work. The rosettes, common to Lead I and II (Fig. 7; 25–30), are parallel to the bronze, gold, and leaden rosettes found at many sites, Kamiros, Ephesus, Curium, Sparta, Aegina, and Lusoi.[1] The ornaments in Fig. 8; 1, 2 are similar imitations of gold work, such as has been found on the Acropolis at Athens,[2] Curium,[3] and Eleusis. The first occurs in Lead I and II, the second in Lead II and III–IV; the next ornament (Fig. 8; 3), also common to Lead I and II, recalls the pattern of a bracelet from Curium.[4] Bulls' heads (Fig. 8; 4–6) occur at the Orthia site from Lead I to Lead III–IV, but are not so solidly made as these from the Menelaion. The fact that one is worn by a Cypriote terracotta[5] proves that they were ornaments: gold examples have been found in Cyprus[6] and Rhodes, there are specimens in ivory from Mycenae, and they also occur in bronze. The female head, a type common to Lead I and II (Fig. 8; 7), also recalls gold jewellery from Athens, Ephesus, Kamiros, Delos, Megara, and elsewhere.[7]

Of the ornaments that follow (Fig. 8; 8–14) there is not much to be said. All are common to Lead I and II. The rosette is like similar examples in gold from Corinth and in ivory from Ephesus.[8] The three strips (Fig. 8; 11, 13, 14) are possibly imitations of gold strips like some from Athens and Ephesus,[9] though the third one might be a votive dress with a fringe, as on one of the terracottas (Fig. 8; 33). Pairs of pins (Fig. 8; 15–16) imitated in lead occur in Lead I, II and III–IV. A pair of gold pins fastened by a chain has been found at the Orthia site, there is a silver specimen from the Argive Heraion, and bronze examples are very common.[10] They are frequently seen worn by figures in vase

[1] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX, 6, 8; Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pls. VIII, XX; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. XXVI; *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 116, Fig. 6*f*; Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, Pls. CXIII, CXIV; *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 57, Fig. 106.

[2] Athens, Nat. Mus. 7258.

[3] Perrot-Chipiez, iii, Fig. 600.

[4] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 312.

[5] *B.M. Cat. Terracottas*, Pl. XIV.

[6] Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. I.

[7] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX, 2; Hogarth, *Ephesus*, Pl. III, 9; Salzmann, *Camirus*, Pl. I; *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX, 11, 12; Daremberg-Saglio, i, Fig. 934.

[8] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. VIII, 10; Hogarth, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXV, 21.

[9] *Arch. Zeit.* 1884, Pl. IX, 4, 5; Hogarth, *op. cit.* Pl. IX.

[10] *Olympia*, iv, Pl. XXV; Thiersch *apud* Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, pp. 404 ff., Pl. CXV; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, Pls. LXXX ff.; *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 109 ff., Fig. 1.

FIG. 8.—MENELAION: LEAD FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

paintings,[1] and on terracottas[2] (Fig. 8; 50–57). The curious ornament (Fig. 8; 17) is peculiar to Lead II, while the next three (Fig. 8; 18–20) are common to Lead I and II. Scarab rings (Fig. 8; 21) in lead and bronze have been found at the Argive Heraion, and there are similar specimens in the British Museum.[3] Wreaths with what appear to be pomegranate buds (Fig. 8; 22–23) and simpler wreaths like Fig. 8; 24 and 25 occur both in Lead I and II. Solid lead rings, which occur in Lead I and II (Fig. 8; 26), have been found at Ephesus,[4] and are probably imitations of gold rings like some from the Orthia site. Spike wreaths (Fig. 8; 27, 28) are rare in Lead I and II, exceedingly common in Lead III–IV, and common in Lead V and VI. Ball wreaths (Fig. 8; 30) are practically peculiar to Lead I and II, though smaller varieties of them occur later. Wheels (Fig. 8; 29) are common to Lead I and II and may be compared to bronzes from Olympia and Aegina.[5]

C.—*Figurines found with Pottery later than Laconian II.*

To this class belong 2748 figurines, to which must be added the 352 now in the National Museum at Athens from the excavations of Ross and Kastriotis.[6] These are of the same types as those found by us and, apart from the lion mentioned above, add nothing of interest. In Fig. 9; 2–8 the usual varieties of winged goddesses common to Lead III–IV and V are shown: Fig. 9; 1 is a type peculiar to Lead V. The different types of Athena are seen in Fig. 9; 9, 15, 17, and of these one (Fig. 9; 14) seems to be practically confined to Lead V, and one to Lead VI (Fig. 9; 10, 11), the rest occurring both in Lead III–IV and V. The running Gorgon (Fig. 9; 16), which is found only in Lead III–IV, is very like the running figures on the Arkesilas kylix.[7] It is curious that the two goddesses with bows[8] (Fig. 9; 18, 19) should, like the Athena type, wear an aegis fringed with snakes. Of the different varieties of women, two (Fig. 9; 22, 25)

[1] Hadaczek, *Jahreshefte*, 1902, p. 212; cf. Thiersch, *op. cit.*
[2] Cf. Waldstein, *op. cit.* ii, Pls. XLII ff.
[3] Waldstein, *op. cit.* ii, Pl. LXXXIX; *B.M. Cat. Rings*, Pl. VII ff., p. xxxviii.
[4] Hogarth, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX, 10.
[5] *Olympia*, iv, Pl. XXV; Furtwaengler, *op. cit.*, Pl. CXVII, 3.
[6] *S.M.C.* pp. 228 ff.
[7] Walters, *Hist. of Pottery*, i, p. 342, Fig. 92.
[8] Cf. *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 24, Fig. 9.

FIG. 9.—MENELAION: LEAD FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

occur also in Lead I and II; all the other types, of which the more usual are small, rough figures (Fig. 9; 27–38), are common to Lead III–IV and V. One seems to hold a cymbal (Fig. 9; 24): there are also three varieties of female flute-players (Fig. 9; 39–41) like figurines that occur in Lead I and II. There are two male lyre-players (Fig. 9; 42, 43), the second of which is found also in Lead I and II, and two types (Fig. 9; 45, 47) of the nude male flute-players (Fig. 9; 44–49) are found in the same periods.

Of the warriors shown in Fig. 10; 1–25 the smaller figurines (Fig. 10; 8–17), one of the larger types (Fig. 10; 1), and those with blazons on their shields are typical of Lead III–IV, and occur occasionally in Lead V and VI. The others resemble those found in Lead I and II. It is remarkable that on none do we find the blazon Λ, which Eupolis says the Lacedaemonians had on their shields. The running wheel pattern (Fig. 10; 18, 19) is fairly common and most of the blazons (Fig. 10; 20–24) are frequently found on red-figured vases.[1]

Of the bowmen (Fig. 10; 26, 27) the first is peculiar to Lead V, and the other occurs in Lead I, II, and III–IV. The nude men (Fig. 10; 28, 31, 33), some of whom may be flute-players, are common in Lead III–IV. The man with a loin-cloth (Fig. 10; 34) is rarely found in Lead II, and not at all in Lead V. Of the trident bearers (Fig. 10; 34, 35) the first belongs to Lead III–IV and V, but the other is peculiar to Lead V. Horsemen and centaurs (Fig. 10; 35, 36) belong to Lead III–IV, though one small type of horseman found at the Orthia site is common to Lead II and III–IV. The horses that follow have already been referred to above, as also the second of the three lion types (Fig. 10; 41–43). The other two lions are peculiar to Lead III–IV. As remarked above, sphinxes are found from Lead I to III–IV, but it is obvious how inferior are the types of Lead III–IV (Fig. 10; 44). The siren (Fig. 10; 45) is rare in Lead III–IV but fairly frequent in Lead II. Rampant goats have already been mentioned above (Fig. 10; 47). Deer, such as seen on Fig. 11; 1–6, first appear in Lead III–IV and are very common in this and the two succeeding periods. Cocks (Fig. 11; 7–11), which are rare in Lead I, are common

[1] *E.g.* Cocks, *Furtwaengler-Reichhold*, Pl. XXII; Gorgon, *ibid.*, Pl. XXII; Lion, *ibid.*, Pls. XXXIV, LXI, LXXIV, LXXXV; Scorpion, *ibid.*, Pls. LXII, CXI; Ball, *ibid.*, Pls. LXXXV, CXIII; Boar, *ibid.*, Pl. LXXXIV; Bird, *ibid.*, Pl. LXII.

FIG. 10.—MENELAION: LEAD FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

in Lead II and III–IV, but in the latter period the types and fabric are much inferior.

Of the ornaments, the horse-head type has been discussed elsewhere[1] (Fig. 11 ; 12, 13), and the bull's head (Fig. 11 ; 14) shows the type which at the Orthia site is common to Lead I, II, III–IV : on Fig. 11 ; 15–17, 19 are seen the Lead III–IV types of the heavy headed dress pins already discussed above. Of the bud ornaments (Fig. 11; 20–24), which occur also in Lead I and II and are clearly imitations of jewellery,[2] the fifth is of a pomegranate bud type, one of the typical ornaments of Laconian pottery.[3] At the Menelaion a gold pomegranate has been found (Plate VIII, 9) and another in bronze (Fig. 13 ; 11), while at the Orthia site examples in silver, ivory, and terracotta are comparatively common.[4]

Palm branches (Fig. 11 ; 25–27) are found in Lead III–IV to VI. The framed amphora (Fig. 11 ; 28) is peculiar to Lead III–IV : it may bear the same relation to the solid lead plaques of Lead II[5] that the fretwork bone carvings[6] of Laconian III–IV bear to the ivory plaques of Laconian II and earlier periods. Of the rings, those[7] like Fig. 11 ; 29 are rare in Lead III–IV, and occur occasionally in Lead I and II, but in the two periods scarab rings are commoner. Solid rings (Fig. 11 ; 33) have already been mentioned above. Of the three types of wreaths (Fig. 11 ; 30–32) the spike wreaths are very rare in Lead I and II, and exceedingly common in Lead III–IV, V and VI, in which periods there are often more of them than of all the other types of figurines put together. For instance, at the Menelaion, of the 2748 figurines in this stratum, 1370 were spike wreaths, and at the Orthia site, in the Laconian III and IV deposit on the south side of the temple, there were 8600 spike wreaths against 3725 other figurines ; in the Laconian V deposit east of the Greek altar there were 1798 spike wreaths against 540 other figurines, and in the Laconian VI deposit among the houses to the east of the altar, there were about 1798 spike wreaths against about 1092 other figurines. The small ball wreaths, much inferior to the

[1] *J.H.S.* 1909, p. 290, Figs. 5–7.

[2] *e.g. Arch. Anz.* 1904, p. 41 ; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, Pl. XXII.

[3] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 47.

[4] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 73, Fig. 6 ; xiii, p. 98, Fig. 30 *d*.

[5] *B.S.A.* xii, p. 323, Fig. 3 *b* ; *J.H.S.* 1909, p. 294, Fig. 10, this lead plaque is obviously, from the traces of the pin behind it, an imitation of the ivory plaque fibulae so common at the Orthia site, *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 78, 85, Figs. 17, 21.

[6] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 10, Fig. 3.

[7] Cf. *B.M. Cat. Rings*, Pl. XL, 20.

FIG. 11.—MENELAION: LEAD FIGURINES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

large types of Lead I and II, are not so common as the pomegranate bud wreaths (Fig. 11 ; 31), and both occur in Lead III–IV to VI. Miniature lead mirrors (Fig. 11 ; 34) are rare in Lead III–IV, but fairly common in Lead I and II. Finally in Fig. 11 ; 35–40 are seen the types of grilles that occur in Lead III–IV and V, again much inferior to those of the earlier periods.

A. J. B. WACE.

MISCELLANEA.

Nearly all the objects included in this section are represented in greater numbers and often in greater variety, at the neighbouring sanctuary of Artemis Orthia. They will be fully discussed on a later occasion in connection with that site. The following list is intended only to complete the account of the finds from the Menelaion.

Glazed Paste.

Pl. VIII, 1. Fragment of male statuette; pierced at the back laterally for suspension. Found with Laconian II pottery.

Pl. VIII, 2, 3, 4. Scarabs; date XXVIth dynasty and found with Laconian II. All are pierced for suspension. Two others also found, one similar to 2, the other illegible.

Pl. VIII, 10. Head of an animal, possibly a hedgehog. Faint traces of blue still remain. Date 6th century.

The following are not illustrated :—

Fragment of a paste vase, found with Laconian II. A few fragments of 'Phoenician glass,' blue with white lines, 6th century. A few paste beads and indistinguishable fragments were noticed in various strata. For a discussion of objects in paste found on Greek sites cf. Hogarth, *Ephesus*, p. 207.

Beads, Whorls, etc.

Pl. VIII, 23. Of a dark almost black, vitreous substance. Also in blue-green bottle glass ; cf. Hogarth, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV, 28.

Pl. VIII, 24. Three cornered or 'cocked-hat' shape. The body is made of a dull brown paste. White or yellow bands of a finer material are inlaid

at each extremity. Most frequent with Geometric and Proto-Corinthian pottery. Common at Sparta and found also at Hissarlik,[1] Ephesus[2] and Aegina.[3]

The following are not illustrated :—

Conical whorls in dull purple steatite, most frequent with Laconian I and II. Amber bead, lentoid in shape, found with Laconian II.

Objects in Silver and Silver Gilt.

Pl. VIII, 5. tubular bead: silver, others gilt. Found with Laconian II. Cf. Hogarth, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII, 1, 2.

Pl. VIII, 6. Tubular attachment for pendant: silver, others gilt. Found with Laconian II. Cf. Hogarth, *op. cit.*, Pl. XII, 10, a very common type.

Pl. VIII, 7. Gilt ring. Found with Laconian II. Two others, broken, also found.

Pl. VIII, 8. Gilt. There is no parallel to this example from the Orthia site. The back is flat and no sign of any attachment is left. It is therefore doubtful whether this was a pendant or not. Found with Laconian II.

Pl. VIII, 9. Pendant in form of a bud. Gilt. A very common type. It should be completed by a tubular attachment as shown in Pl. VIII, 5. Found with Laconian II. Similar types in bone and terracotta occur at the Orthia site. For leaden imitation cf. Fig. 11 ; 20, 21.

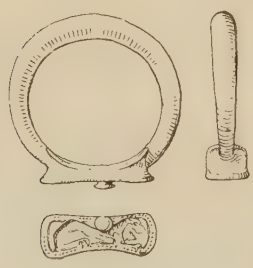


FIG. 12.—SILVER RING. (SCALE 1 : 1.)

Fig. 12. Silver ring with gold nail inserted in the bezel. Found with Laconian II. The object of the nail is to ward off the evil eye, cf. *B. M. Cat. Finger Rings*, p. xxxiii, where several of later date are discussed. No similar example from the Orthia site.

The following are not illustrated :—

In silver : plain hoop ring and ribbed bead. Gilt knobs, balls and wire, together with a few indistinguishable fragments in both materials. A small quantity of gold leaf was also found.

[1] Schliemann, *Ilios*, p. 429, No. 551.
[2] Hogarth, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLV, 7–9, 12–14, 18.
[3] Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, Pl. CXVIII, 1–3.

The above examples do not represent the better specimens of Spartan jewellery, which only survive in leaden imitations. It seems probable that only inferior or imitation jewellery was used as votive offerings. The chief technical points to be noticed are the tubular attachments, cf. Pl. VIII, 5, and the absence of wire loop attachments and also of applied gold or silver miniature bells which are common features on contemporary jewellery from other sites.

Iron.

An iron knife was found with Geometric pottery.

Ivory and Bone.

Pl. VIII, 11, 19. Bone: probably pieces of inlay; 11 found with Laconian II; 19 is later.

Pl. VIII, 12. Bone: use unknown; similar examples from the Orthia site.

Pl. VIII, 13. Bone: six-sided die in form of a fish. Found with Laconian III and later wares. A similar type occurs in bronze, cf. Pl. IX, 11, 12.

Pl. VIII, 14. Bone: similar examples in other materials *v.* below, p. 147. Found with Laconian II, III, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 101, Fig. 31.

Pl. VIII, 15. Bone: use unknown. Found with Laconian III and later styles.

Pl. VIII, 16. Bone: found with Laconian III and later styles, cf. *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 23, Fig. 8.

Pl. VIII, 17. Ivory seal: on the back what seems to be a rosette ornament; for somewhat similar examples cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 92, Fig. 25 *b*.

Pl. VIII, 18. Bone: found with Proto-Corinthian and Laconian I, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 94, Fig. 27 *a*.

Pl. VIII, 20. Bone: a small socket in the top. Found with Laconian II.

Pl. VIII, 21. Bone: almost certainly a lion, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 99, Fig. 30 *c*. Found with Laconian III and later styles.

In addition to those illustrated, a few strips of bone, some with an ornamentation of inscribed circles, were found with Laconian II and later styles. It should be noted that the above are dated entirely on the evidence from the Menelaion; they have been compared with similar objects from the Orthia site and no discrepancy seems to exist. In any case of doubt the superior evidence from the latter sanctuary would have to prevail.

M. S. THOMPSON.

THE BRONZES.

The bronzes from the Menelaion, though not so numerous as those from the Orthia site, are in much better condition owing to the drier nature of the site. Like the other finds they fall easily into three main classes according to the strata in which they were found.

A.—*Bronzes found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, and Laconian I Pottery.*

Pins: of these there are two main types, (*a*) with small heads often surmounted by a thin disc (Plate VIII, 28, 29), and (*b*) with large, heavy heads (Pl. IX, 21–23). The stratification at the Orthia site has shown that Thiersch was right in thinking[1] the former contemporaneous with Geometric and the latter with Orientalising and later pottery. Fragments such as Pl. VIII, 26, 27 are probably the heads of pins of the first type with iron shafts, which are fairly common.

Rings: (*a*) thin, plain rings like the solid lead rings (Fig. 8; 26) and the larger bronze rings shown on Pl. IX, 13; (*b*) similar open rings with the ends ending in spirals,[2] usually found with Geometric ware only.

Thin discs: (*a*) plain, (*b*) ornamented with rosettes[3] like Fig. 13; 3, 4, 14.

Argive-Corinthian embossed strips[4]: of these, few fragments were found (Fig. 13; 7–10).

Narrow strips with small holes punched in them.[5]

[1] *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 109 ff.; Thiersch *apud* Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, pp. 412 ff.
[2] Cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 117, Fig. 6 *b*.
[3] *v.* above p. 133, note 1.
[4] De Ridder, *De Ectypis Aeneis*; Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, p. 394.
[5] Cf. *Olympia*, iv, Pls. XVIII ff.; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, Pl. CII.

FIG. 13.—MENELAION: BRONZES. (SCALE 4 : 5.)

Miniature vases: we found one of these. Similar jugs have been found at the Orthia site, Aegina,[1] and Phthiotic Thebes.

Animals on stands: to this class belongs the bird (Fig. 13; 12) like examples from Olympia, the Argive Heraion, and the Orthia site,[2] and a doubtful fragment that may represent a lizard or some similar animal. Besides these there were handles for bowls, long rods with knobs at intervals like some from Aegina and the Argive Heraion,[3] and a bronze mask similar to Fig. 13; 17.

But the most remarkable bronze from this stratum is the female statuette (·13 m. high) figured on Pl. X. This represents a woman in a long chiton stopping just above the ankles and girt at the waist. The hands are close to the sides though the arms are free from the body. The head, eyes, and mouth are abnormally large. The hair is a thick, flat, wig-like mass, cut sharp off round the face and at the back of the neck. The body shows a minimum of modelling, being very flat and rectangular, and the contours of the figure are only slightly indicated. The projection of the skirt at the bottom should be noticed; it seems to indicate that it was fuller there than elsewhere. There are practically no parallels to this statuette: the nearest is an archaic figure from Lusoi,[4] but even that is very different. This is one of the earliest bronze statuettes that can be even approximately dated. Since the stratum in which it was found contained Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, and Laconian I pottery, it cannot well be later than the seventh century, and might even belong to the eighth.

B.—*Bronzes found with Laconian II Pottery.*

Pins, heavy headed (Plate IX, 21–23): these were used to fasten the chiton[5] on the shoulders and are often seen worn by figures in vase paintings, and on terracottas. We also found this type in iron.

Rings: thick, solid rings (Plate IX, 13).[6]

Dice: these are exactly like some found at the Orthia site[7] and dated to the late seventh or early sixth century. Both of the Menelaion

[1] Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, Pl. CXVIII, 16.
[2] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 111, Fig. 2; Waldstein, *op. cit.* ii, Pl. LXXVII; *Olympia*, iv. Pl. XIII.
[3] Furtwaengler, *op. cit.* Pl. CXIV; Waldstein, *op. cit.* ii, Pl. CXXI.
[4] *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 34, Fig. 20.
[5] *v.* Thiersch *apud* Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, pp. 404 ff.
[6] Cf. *Olympia*, iv, Pl. XXIII.
[7] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 115, Fig. 5 *d*; cf. xiv, p. 26.

specimens (Plate IX, 11, 12) have a hole at one end for suspension, and the second, like a bone example also from here (Plate VIII, 13), is in the shape of a fish. These dice are six-sided and have the pips marked by small, sunken holes.

Pendants (Plate IX, 15, 17): of these we found several in the shape of pomegranate buds or poppy heads. They may be compared with the specimens in gold, silver, ivory, lead, and terracotta from the Orthia site[1] and the Menelaion itself. All are pierced for suspension.

Model Double Axes (Plate IX, 9, 10): these are as a rule bored through as though for a shaft, and are either made solid or of two thin plates of bronze clamped together. Similar axes of gold, silver, lead, and terracotta have been found at the Orthia site, and bronze examples come from Tegea, Lusoi, and the Diktaean Cave.[2]

Bowl handles: two with snakes' heads are here figured (Plate IX, 14, 18), and one with lions' heads was also found.

Fibulae: only one was found and that of a rare type, a lion with a snake as a tail: the hinge is under the fore paws. Similar fibulae come from Olympia, the Argive Heraion, and the Orthia site.[3]

Bulls' head pendants (Plate IX, 2–4, 6, 8): these may all have been actually worn as ornaments, as on a Cypriote terracotta in the British Museum.[4] They have also been found at the Orthia site.[5] It should be noted that one (Plate IX, 3) has a small lion's head between the horns.

Statuettes: the two small men (Plate IX, 1, 5), from the close similarity between them in size and style and from the curved shape of the feet, obviously stood facing one another on the handles of a bowl. The workmanship is rough and vigorous, and there is no indication of fine detail, such as the hair. The general features are broadly and directly rendered giving an expression of pleasing grotesqueness. The other rough statuette (Plate IX, 20) recalls a bronze and a terracotta from Olympia;[6]

[1] *v.* above p. 142.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 116, Fig. 6 *e*; *B.S.A.* vi, p. 109, Fig. 40; *Jahreshefte*, 1901, p. 49; cf. the ivory examples, *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 101, Fig. 31 *f*; and *v.* above p. 143.

[3] *Olympia*, iv, Pl. LVII, 966; Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, ii, Pl. LXXXVIII; *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 114, Fig. 4 *b*.

[4] *B.M. Cat. Terracottas*, Pl. XIV, 1.

[5] Cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 115, Fig. 5 *a*; *v.* also above p. 133.

[6] *Olympia*, iv, Pls. XV, 235, XVII, 279.

it may also be compared with the rough, hand-made, archaic terracottas.[1]

Rosettes[2] (Fig. 13 ; 3, 4, 14): these were fairly common in the black earth pocket, though often badly broken.

Argive-Corinthian embossed strips[3] (Fig. 13 ; 1, 2, 13, 18): fragments of these common, but badly broken ; they show the usual interlaced or tongue patterns, and rarely animals, such as lions.

Masks : two were found, (*a*) (Fig. 13 ; 6) a lion's head which may be compared to an ox head from Olympia,[4] (*b*) a female head (Fig. 13 ; 17) also like some from Olympia ;[5] this is badly damaged. The arrangement of the hair, which is crowned by a *stephane*, in two plaits on each side recalls sixth-century statues.

Miscellaneous : in this class we may mention a chain (Plate IX, 19), a pomegranate of thin bronze plate (Fig. 13 ; 11), a handle with a disc to attach to a wooden or ivory casket (Fig. 13 ; 15), and a thin strip adorned with a rosette (Fig. 13 ; 5), perhaps to bind round the edge of a small box.

C.—*Bronzes found with Laconian III–V and Later Pottery.*

Pins : heavy-headed, like Plate IX, 21–23.

Rings : solid, like Plate IX, 13.

Bell (Plate VIII, 23): this is to be compared to the bronze and terracotta bells dedicated to Athena Chalkioikos.[6]

Handles from bowls and jugs (Fig. 14 ; 1, 3).

Sickle (Fig. 13 ; 16): this may be compared to the iron sickles dedicated to Orthia.[7]

Bowls : several in fragments including the greater part of a *phiale mesomphalos*.

Bronze strips : pieces embossed with ordinary decorative patterns.

Miscellaneous : an arrowhead, a piece of wire covered with gold-leaf, and the curious object shown in Fig. 14 ; 2. This is a bronze crescent swinging freely round a bronze rod with a stud at the top and in the middle. The lower part of the rod is bedded in a lump of lead, which shows that it was originally set up in a stone or marble base. What was

[1] Cf. *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 50 ff. [2] See above p. 133.
[3] De Ridder, *De Ectypis Aeneis* ; Furtwaengler, *Aegina*, p. 394.
[4] *Olympia*, iv, Pl. XLI, 722. [5] *Olympia*, iv, Pls. XXXVI, 691, XLI, 689.
[6] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 150, 153. [7] *B.S.A.* xii, pp. 384 ff.

the purpose of this object is unknown : it is more like a weathercock than anything else.

The following bronzes were with those of Class C, but in a place where

1 2 3

FIG. 14.—MENELAION : BRONZES. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

the strata above the upper floor at the north end had been disturbed by the excavations of Ross and Kastriotis [1] :—

Bird of a thin plate of bronze (Fig. 13 ; 12) : bronze animals of

[1] See above pp. 115.

this type at Olympia and the Orthia site[1] have been found in archaic strata.

Bull's head pendant: a specimen exactly like that shown on Plate IX, 3.

A. J. B. WACE.

THE POTTERY.

The season of 1909 was particularly interesting because of the fuller light that was shed on the earlier period of the Laconian style of pottery by the excavation of the Menelaion. This excavation produced in close proximity to the building a plentiful supply of Spartan Geometric ware, of Sub-Geometric, of Laconian I, and of Laconian II, but of the later developments very few examples were turned up.[2]

The Geometric ware is mostly of the later variety in which slip was used, and no further comment is required by it.[3]

As for the Sub-Geometric sherds, not only their juxta-position with those of the first Laconian period, to which indeed little weight can be attached, as the stratification at this site had been much disturbed, but their nature, as can be seen from the specimens shown in Fig. 15, *a*, *c*, *d*, lends support to the theory suggested two years ago[4] by the study of the pottery at the sanctuary of Orthia, that this ware lasted on some while, and was still used for large vessels when the new Laconian style (I) had been adopted generally for small vases. These sherds, which in technique (particularly the quality of the black paint used) belong to the Geometric style, show points of decoration that make it hard to believe that they are far removed in time from the second of the Laconian periods.

It is in this period of Laconian II (for the many sherds of Laconian I call for absolutely no remark) that the ceramic interest of the Menelaion lies. It was in this period[5] that the continuity of the pottery at the sanctuary of Orthia was least complete, and it was particularly pleasant to find that the Menelaion was richest in ware of just the time about which our knowledge

[1] *Olympia*, iv, Pl. X, 99, 100; *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 116, Fig. 6*a*.

[2] It is noteworthy that here several specimens of Corinthian pottery were found, besides a good quantity of Proto-Corinthian ware. The small amount of Mycenaean pottery that was found here and near by is late, poor in quality, and chiefly interesting because it is Mycenaean.

[3] *B.S.A.* xiii, p. 124.

[4] *B.S.A.* xiii, pp. 126, 130.

[5] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 33.

FIG. 15.—SUB-GEOMETRIC WARE (*a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) AND LACONIAN II (*b*, *f*, *g*). (SCALE 1 : 2.)

was deficient. One positive error can now be corrected. The running leaf pattern[1] was first found at the Orthia site in the latest deposit below the sand, which contained, together with a little (necessarily very early) Laconian III, those sherds that we rightly considered to belong to a period intermediate between the early simplicity of the style and its full development. The pattern was very simple, was the first example (if we except the ray pattern) of a vegetable *motif*, and was found generally alone round the lip of the vase as a substitute for the square and dot of Laconian I. Thus we were led to think that it also belonged to Laconian II, the style of the end of the seventh century. The pattern, however, is not found at all on the pottery at the Menelaion which we class with Laconian II. That we are right in our classification is shown hardly more clearly by the nature of the ware (obviously the intermediate style, of the more complete existence of which we felt certain) than by the nature of the lead figurines and the bronze objects found with it, for these correspond very accurately with the similar objects found in this period at the Orthia site. It is, therefore, now clear that this pattern was not introduced until, with the advent of the pomegranate and lotus designs, the style of decoration became fully vegetable, that is to say until Laconian III.

This is, perhaps, the most interesting point of comparison between the second and third periods. If exception be made of the ray pattern, which began with Laconian I but is so conventionalised that its vegetable origin is barely discernible, there is none among the wealth of new patterns that sprang up towards the close of the seventh century (shown in Fig. 16), that is vegetable even by descent, much less in appearance.

Another interesting point is that we find that the old square and dot pattern (*a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *k*, *l*, *r*) still holds its own with the zs (*l*, *r*), chevrons (*a*, *f*), tongues (generally quite short) (*d*, *s*, *x*), steps (*b*, *c*, *d*, *f*), keys (*a*, *e*, *f'*), chequers (*m*), and rope designs (*x*), thus making very clear the continuity of the style.

The main feature, however, at this period is the fondness shown for water birds; this is interesting, though not unexpected, in view of their frequency on the ivory plaques of the Orthia sanctuary, where were found also a few sherds decorated with such birds, which, at any rate, were rightly assigned to this time.[2] The usual technique is a black silhouette with a tail in purple separated by a reserved line. Parallel with this usage is the

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 33, Fig 3 *c*, *d*.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 33, Fig. 3 *a*, *g*.

FIG. 16.—LACONIAN II. (SCALE 1 : 2.

treatment of animals drawn in silhouette with head and eye outlined, in which manner are found goats (Fig. 16, *o*), bulls (Fig. 16, *q*), lions (Fig. 16, *n*), dogs, and hares (Fig. 16, *r*).

It is this practice, found as it is in the Sub-Geometric ware (Fig. 15, *a*, *c*, *d*, *e*) also, that lends strength to the idea that that ware lingered on nearly to this time. This method of drawing was, however, short lived, for the incised technique is found to be supplanting it very quickly (Fig. 16, *b*, Fig. 16, *e*, *p*), and the two are seen together on the same vase (Fig. 16, *f'*).[1]

Equally interesting is the discovery that at this time the artist had not got beyond the simplest scheme of composition, that of arranging

FIG. 17.—LACONIAN II. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

his almost invariably identical figures in a procession. The best example is shown in Fig. 18, *b*, where the space is divided into three alternating friezes filled by processions of bulls, boars, and rams. The elaborate *swastika* is interesting as it never was a favourite ornament at Sparta even in the days of Geometric art.

These animals, arranged in this manner and treated frequently in the outlined and reserved technique, are particularly interesting, as both these

[1] It is possible in view of the new evidence that the sherd shown *B.S.A.* xiv, p. 36, Fig. 4 *b*, should be placed with Laconian II, through the square and dot pattern. At any rate it is very early Laconian III.

qualities are generally accepted as characteristic of the Ionian schools of vase painting. That Spartan art at this period drew much of its inspiration from the other side of the Aegean is, I suppose, tolerably probable. Yet I cannot but think that Dr. Böhlau[1] was mistaken in associating, as arguments for the Ionian character of this ware, both the following frieze and the floral character of the decoration; for it is plain to-day that the floral element was not introduced until the arrangement

FIG. 18.—LACONIAN II. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

in procession had been almost[2] completely supplanted by the broken line and heraldic grouping of Laconian III. Likewise the technique of incision completely ousted the outline, with one exception, the Gorgoneion, for which the outline on a light ground was always preferred. Nor

[1] Böhlau, *Aus ion. u. ital. Nekrop.* p. 131.

[2] In Laconian III, the following and the broken frieze are occasionally found on the same vase, but it is safe to say that the following frieze is never found alone, and is a clear survival.

is the fragment shown in Fig. 19 an exception to this rule, for the drawing as a whole is outlined, and recourse is had to incision merely for detail in the mass of hair.

FIG. 19.—LACONIAN III. (SCALE 1 : 2.)

It is noteworthy that at this period the purple is a fresh red in colour, and, far from being always applied to black in the later manner, is often found placed straight upon the slip, which is generally fairly

thick and good. Even at this early date there is found, though very rarely, a band reserved without slip, of which the clearest example is that shown in Fig. 16, *a*, where the row of chevrons is painted on the bare clay.

Of the shapes at this period it is not over easy to speak. Bowls (Fig. 16, *a*, *e*, *f*, *x*, *y*, Fig. 17) and flattish dishes or plates are frequent. The ribbed edge, although common in this shape in Laconian I, is already being superseded by a smooth slipped edge with a painted pattern of cross lines (Fig. 16, *y*) and squares (Fig. 15, *b*), which are more frequent than the tongues of Laconian III, although these are also found in a rudimentary form (Fig. 15, *f*). Fig. 18, *a* shows an aryballos, not a common shape among the painted vases of Sparta, while Fig. 16, *r* and Fig. 18, *b* and *c* are examples of the lakaina, though the belly is missing in each case, showing both the early type with straight sides, and the later where these are outsplayed. (The elaborate palmettes of Fig. 18, *c*, in which both background and details are painted in purple applied direct to the slip, is a design unique in Laconia.) The kylix, afterwards so frequently exported as to have been thought the shape most characteristic of the style (an opinion that is hardly tenable to-day), is still at this time very rare.

The splendid snake in the hair of the Gorgoneion on the base of a plate, that can hardly be put earlier than the beginning of Laconian III (Fig. 19), makes our failure to recover the rest of the plate a matter for keen regret.

To conclude this account of the pottery found at the Menelaion mention need only be made of one sherd of Laconian V (see p. 114 above), with a spirited drawing of a horse's head (of course on the bare clay), that is almost the only noteworthy representative at this site of the later periods of Laconian pottery.

J. P. DROOP.

LACONIA.

II.—TOPOGRAPHY.

East-Central Laconia.

§ 1.—The Eurotas Valley.

Scylax, 47.	Strabo, VIII. 363.	Ptolemy, III. 16.	Pausanias, III. 22.
	Helos		**Helos** **Palaia** 120 st. **Geronthrai** 20 st. **Selinos** **Glyppia** 100 st. **Marios**

This paper is a brief account of the classical topography of east-central Laconia. It includes all the country on the left bank of the Eurotas between Leonidi and Zarax with the exception of the small piece directly opposite Sparta and round Chrysapha. The whole of this district is not well watered and irrigation is not possible, for the fertile, undulating plain below Geraki is well above the level of the river; the olive tree, however, flourishes here, and in the neighbourhood of Gouves there are some splendid old trees. In the alluvial plain at the mouth of the Eurotas corn grows well but is often severely damaged by winter floods. Round the foot of

∴=Ruins; T=Watch-Tower; Δ=Mountain-Top. ANCIENT NAMES underlined.

FIG. 1.—LACONIA: SKETCH MAP OF EAST-CENTRAL DISTRICT.

Mount Kourkoula the valonia oak flourishes, but owing to the present low price little trouble is taken to gather the crop. Between Geraki and the sea runs the rugged range of Parnon, which drops as abruptly to the sea on the east as it rises gently from the plain on the west. In the gorges among the steep pine-clad slopes above Kyparissi is some of the finest mountain scenery in Laconia. In the mountains the struggle for existence is hard, and some of the villages are merely the summer homes of the plain dwellers, for instance Kosma is the summer village of Vrontama, and Tsitsina that for the inhabitants of Gortsa and Zoupaina. On the sea-coast there is little land suitable for cultivation, except in the small valleys near Zarax, Kyparissi, Poulithra, and Leonidi.

This district differs from the rest of Laconia in being largely inhabited by Albanians: for instance, practically all the villages in the mountains, Hieraka, Rhichea, Niata, Pistamata, Charax, Kyparissi, Kremasti, Aloupochori, Giotsali and Geraki, are occupied by people of Albanian descent,[1] although in some villages such as Geraki, they have been almost completely hellenized. But in the deme of Zarax, the capital of which is Kremasti, Albanian is commonly spoken by the people amongst themselves in preference to Greek, especially by the women; further in the north this district includes part of the country where Tsakonian is still spoken, the villages of Poulithra, Kounoupia, and Leonidi.[2] According to the mediaeval authorities such as the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Tsakonia was the name for the greater part of east-central Laconia between the Eurotas and the sea, as far south as Monemvasia.[3] We hear of three divisions of Laconia east of the Eurotas: Tsakonia, Helos, the district between the mouth of the Eurotas and Mount Kourkoula, and Vatika, the Malea promontory. A rescript[4] of Theodore II., Despot of the Morea, dated 1442, which grants certain privileges to the inhabitants of Monemvasia, specially excludes the people of Vatika, Tsakonia, and Helos, and the following villages, Molaoi, Asopos, Geraki, Apidia, Zaraphon, Tsitsina, Rheonta, Prastos, Kastanitsa, and Hagios Leonidas (Leonidi). We also hear that Rheonta, Leonidas, and Kyparissi were included in the towns of Tsakonia[5] given as a dowry to

[1] As also Katavothra, Angelona, and Sykea to the south; cf. *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 169, 1.

[2] Thiersch, *Sprache der Zakonen*; Deffner, *Deffners Archiv*, pp. 1 ff.; Deville, *Étude sur le dialecte Tzaconien*.

[3] *E.g.* ll. 2064, 4576, 4588, 4591, 5622, ed. Schmidt.

[4] Λάμπρος, Παρνασσὸς, 1883, pp. 471 ff.

[5] Phrantzes, p. 159, ed. Bonn.

Maria Melissene when she married Antonio Acciaiuoli, Duke of Athens, who died in 1435. It is not known when the Albanians first settled in this part of the country and apparently dispossessed the Tsakonians of some of their villages; they first appear[1] as mercenaries in the service of the despots of Mistra, and were afterwards settled on waste lands in Laconia, but we do not know if their settlement in this district dates from that period. It is interesting to note that the three districts of Vatika, Helos, and Tsakonia (including of course the Albanian villages) are still quite distinct and that their inhabitants can be told by their costumes. In Vatika the marked feature is the width of the trousers, in Helos tight trousers are worn; a Tsakonian wears a fez with a dark red handkerchief tied round it and often has only the handkerchief tied round his head, while the foustanella is the distinguishing feature of those who live to the east of the Eurotas in the neighbourhood of Sparta.

HELOS.

Pausanias speaks of this city[2] as being in ruins in his day, and Strabo calls it a village. According to the former it was an Achaean city and famous for its long and stubborn resistance to the Dorians; it was finally taken by king Alkamenes about 680 B.C. in spite of Argive assistance. Its exact site is still unknown: former travellers such as Leake and Le Bas looked for it by Priniko, but Pausanias gives its distance from Trinasos[3] as eighty furlongs, which indicates a site further east. Near the Kalyvia of Vezani Boblaye found ancient remains, small chapels, broken pottery and the like, but he gives no exact information where this place was. On a hill called Hagios Ioannes a little to the north of the Kalyvia, Greek potsherds are common,[4] further west on a low hill called 'στο Μανολάκι 'marbles' are said to have been found and also the foot of a statue of inferior workmanship; here too, broken pottery is visible on the surface. Between this site and the lagoons on the coast is a chapel called Hagios Strategos, near which are the remains of small houses built with mortar.

[1] Finlay, *History of Greece*, iv. pp. 31 ff.; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 367.

[2] Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 584; Thucydides, iv. 54; Strabo, viii. 363; Pausanias, iii. 2. 7, 20. 6, 22. 3; Stephanus, *s.v.*; Leake, *Morea*, i. pp. 197 ff.; Boblaye, *Recherches*, p. 94; Aldenhoven, *Itinéraire*, p. 357; Le Bas, *Rev. Arch.* 1845, p. 217; Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, ii. p. 289; Bursian, *Geogr. Griechenlands*, ii. p. 133; Philippson, *Peloponnes*, p. 180; Niese, *Nachrichten v. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Goettingen*, 1906, p. 115.

[3] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 230.

[4] A bored celt found here indicates a prehistoric inhabitation of this district.

Excavation alone can decide which is the true site of Helos. The only historical fact we have about Helos is that it was ravaged by Nikias in 424 B.C.

As remarked by Leake, the ancient road from Sparta to Asopos and Monemvasia came through Helos, it passed by Amyklai (Slavochori), entered the gorge of the Eurotas by Skoura, and went down the left bank of the river past the village of Gramousa where the ancient wheel-tracks noted by Leake are said to be still visible.[1] Thence it went by Vlachioti, where some architectural remains of a late period have been found, and Priniko, where Leake and Gell saw a Constantinian mile-stone,[2] to Helos. Thence one branch ran along the coast to Asopos, and another through the pass of Mount Kourkoula to Monemvasia.

The plain on both banks of the Eurotas at its mouth is alluvial land of comparatively recent formation, and though very fertile, is subject in the winter to violent floods which cause considerable damage. This district seems to have been granted by Mohammed II. after the conquest of the Peloponnesus, as a military fief to Krokodeilos Kladas, a Greek guerilla chief.[3] Helos also in the middle ages was the seat of a bishopric.[4]

PALAIA AND PLEIAI.

The village Palaia[5] mentioned by Pausanias as being on the way from Akriai to Geronthrai, is conjectured to be the same as the town Pleiai referred to by Livy as a strategic point covering both Akriai and the plain of Leukai. This description suits the proposed site for Palaia at Apidia, where there are many ruined Byzantine churches and, on a hill to the south of the village, a small and ruined mediaeval fort. No Greek remains are to be seen here, though it is reported that an inscription was found some twenty years ago in the neighbouring village of Niata. It is just possible, since we know that there was a shrine of Artemis Patriotis at Pleiai, that

[1] Leake, *Morea*, i. pp. 194 ff. Mr. Forster (*Class. Rev.* 1909, p. 222) is in error in stating that Helos lay on the road from Sparta to Gytheion.

[2] Leake, *Morea*, i. p. 199; Gell, *Narrative*, p. 342; cf. the Peutinger Table.

[3] Phrantzes, p. 407, ed. Bonn.

[4] Le Quien, *Oriens Christ.* ii. pp. 179, 218, 224; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 62, 63.

[5] Livy, xxxv. 27; *C.I.G.* 1444, cf. *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 212; Leake, *op. cit.* iii. p. 8; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 95; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 328; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 143; Aldenhoven, *op. cit.* p. 366; Philippson, *op. cit.* p. 181; Niese, *op. cit.* p. 114, 11.

the votive relief to Artemis formerly at Gytheion,[1] and said to come from the opposite coast of the gulf, is the inscription in question. Near Gouves a tomb has recently been found, which contained plain aryballoi like those from Sparta.[2]

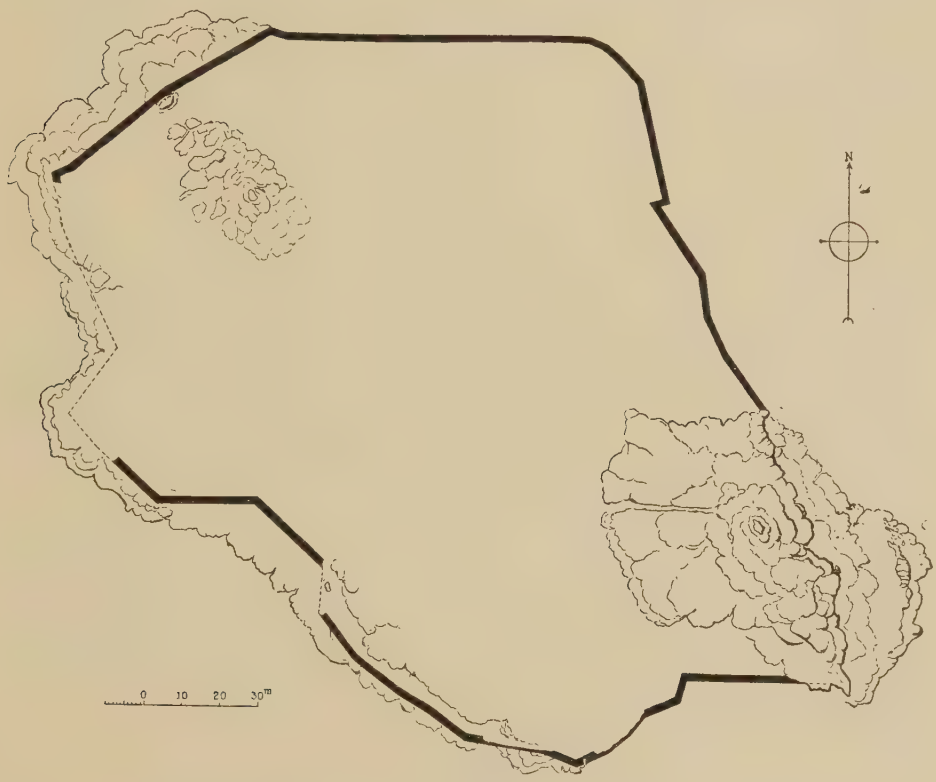


FIG. 2.—GERAKI: PLAN OF ACROPOLIS.

GERONTHRAI.

The site of this city,[3] which was 120 furlongs from Akriai according to Pausanias, has long been known. Leake's conjecture that it stood

[1] *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, Pl. VI. 1.

[2] *B.S.A.* xiii. p. 129, Fig. 7, *a*.

[3] Hierocles, 647; Leake, *op. cit.* iii. p. 8; *Peloponnesiaca*, pp. 149, 362; Gell, *Itinerary*, p. 233; Le Bas, *Rev. Arch.* 1845, pp. 67 ff.; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 95; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 302; Aldenhoven, *op. cit.* p. 366; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 136; Philippson, *op. cit.* p. 181; Niese, *op. cit.* p. 114; Stephanus, *s.v.*; *C.I.G.* 1334; Collitz-Bechtel, 4530, 4531.

at Geraki was confirmed by Le Bas' discovery of inscriptions here, and the finding of others since, leaves us no doubt as to its identity. Trial excavations were undertaken here by the British School in 1905, and though the temple of Apollo on the Acropolis was not found (Fig. 2), interesting neolithic and pre-Mycenaean vase fragments were discovered. As a full account of the extant remains is given in the report of the excavations,[1] it is not to the purpose to repeat it here. According to Pausanias, Geronthrai was an Achaean town that surrendered to the Dorians in the reign of Teleklos, and was colonised by them; in later times it was one of the Eleuthero-Laconian towns and, to judge by the copy of the Edict of Diocletian,[2] was apparently a market town in the imperial period. The many Byzantine churches in the plain near the modern village seem to indicate that it was also important in the middle ages; Boblaye states that it was the seat of a bishopric. On a high hill to the east stands the Frankish castle of Geraki, the interesting ruins of which have been fully described by Mr. Traquair.[3] This castle was the seat of one of the original twelve Frankish barons, Guy de Nivelet, who held twelve fiefs, but it seems to have been one of the castles surrendered by Villehardouin to the Byzantines after the battle of Pelagonia in 1262. It was held by the Venetians for a short time after 1464, and then fell into the hands of the Turks.[4] In the plain to the east of the Frankish castle is a small conical hill called Zavrena, round the top of which is a wall of large, rough stones, terraced up on the inside. This seems to date from Hellenic times, since glazed Greek tiles are to be found scattered over the surface.

SELINOS.

This village[5] lay twenty furlongs from Geronthrai, and has been placed at Kosma by most topographers. Leake suggested it should be looked for near Zaraphon, and Curtius that it might be near the ruined monastery of Daphni on the road to Zaraphon. In the narrow valley below Daphni, and one hour from Geraki, is a place called Nerotrivi: here there are many Greek walls of large cut limestone blocks laid in

[1] *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 91 ff.

[2] Le Bas, *Rev. Arch.* 1845, pp. 67, 129 ff.

[3] *B.S.A.* xii. pp. 263 ff.

[4] Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 51, 147–8, 465, 470.

[5] Leake, *op. cit.* iii. p. 12; *Pelop.* p. 364; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 97; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 304; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 136; Niese, *op. cit.* p 113.

rough courses, and some still stand to a height of about two metres. One building measures 9·80 by 6·15 metres, and black glazed pottery is common amongst the ruins which occupy a considerable area. In the gully leading into the valley from the monastery is a small water-channel cut in the rock, ·33 m. wide and ·31 m. deep. This site, which is approximately the required distance from Geronthrai, is most probably that of Selinos.

On the road between the site of Selinos and the village of Zaraphon are the ruins of a mediaeval watch-tower.

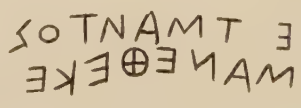
GLYPPIA.

The site of this town[1] is quite unknown, but it seems to be the place called Glympeis by Polybius. Most topographers have identified it with Lympiada in Kynouria at the upper end of the river of Leonidi, where there is a Greek acropolis, but since the Messenians who were defeated at Glympeis were making their way through Kynouria to join Philip V. south of Sparta, we should expect Glympeis to be near one of the passes leading from Kynouria into the Eurotas valley, especially since Polybius says it was on the borders of Argolis and Laconia. The two principal modern routes are those by Kosma and Mari, leading respectively north and south of Mount Mazaraki; so possibly, since Kosma is not Selinos, because it is over twenty furlongs from Geronthrai, and we have found another site for Selinos, it may be Glyppia. At Kosma, on the low hill where stands the church of Prophetes Elias, the villagers have often found small bronze statuettes; one which they showed, represents Tyche with a patera and cornucopiae, and is of Roman date. All over the surface of the hill Greek tiles and black glazed potsherds are to be found. At a site called Palaiochora, one hour from the village, tombs are said to have been found, and at a place called Sormpani, two-and-a-half hours to the west at the foot of Mount Mazaraki, is said to be a ruined village.

[1] Polybius, iv. 36, v. 20; Leake, *op. cit.* iii. pp. 7 ff.; *Pelop.* p. 362; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 96; Aldenhoven, *op. cit.* p. 366; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 303; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 135; Niese, *op. cit.* p. 113; Bölte, *Ath. Mitt.* 1909, pp. 376 ff.; inscription from Kosma, Collitz-Bechtel, 4525.

MARIOS.

The site of this town[1] which was, according to Pausanias, a hundred furlongs from Geronthrai, is to be recognised, as Boblaye suggested, at the modern village of Mari, which is actually about eighty furlongs from Geronthrai. The acropolis is on a high hill called Kastelli in the valley below the village and on the left bank of the river of Mari. A wall of large rough blocks encircles the top of the hill which is not very broad; on the north-west the wall has three courses still standing, and is about 1·80 metres thick. On the north-east the wall has five courses of roughly squared blocks irregularly laid, and is over three metres thick, and there seem to be traces of a gate. Fragments of pottery, including black glazed ware, are common on the hill, and within the *enceinte* are traces of other walls. In the valley below are some ruined churches and other apparently Byzantine remains. Near here an inscription was found; the stone is now used as a doorstep in a neighbouring mill, but owing to constant wear no letters are now legible. In the village, which is further to the north and high up on the opposite side of the hill, copious springs gush forth from a riven wall of rock. At the bottom of the village is said to be a Greek wall, near which an inscribed bronze horse is reported to have been found; this spot may be the site of Pausanias' Pantheon. The position of the shrine of Artemis is still unknown. On the top of the hill opposite the village, at a place called Zougana, an inscription has recently been found, and is now built into the village church. This reads:—



'Ε . . μαντος
μ' ἀνέθηκε

The second letter is illegible, and the third letter may be E, therefore we might restore the name as 'Ερέμαντος or 'Εχέμαντος, though neither is known.[2] The letters are ·025 m. high, and the stone measures ·25 by ·125 metres. There is a hole in the top of the stone, probably for the attachment of a small bronze statue.

[1] Leake, *op. cit.* iii. p. 11; *Pelop.* p. 362; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 96; Aldenhoven, *op. cit.* p. 365; Le Bas, *Rev. Arch.* 1845, p. 141; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 303; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 135; Niese, *op. cit.* p. 113.

[2] Bechtel-Fick, *Personennamen*, p. 195.

To judge by the fragments of tiles that lie about, a small heroön like those at Chrysapha and Angelona[1] seems to have occupied this spot.

§ 2.—THE EASTERN COAST.

SCYLAX, 47.	STRABO, VIII. 368.	PTOLEMY, III. 16.	PAUSANIAS, III. 24.
		Zarex	**Zarax**
		Kyphanta	100 st **Kyphanta**
Prasia, urbs cum portu	**Prasiai**	**Prasiai**	200 st. **Brasiai**

This territory, consisting apparently of Prasiai, Polichna, Glympeis, Kyphanta, Zarax and Leukai, was originally Argive, but we do not know when it was conquered by the Spartans. In the fifth century it was Laconian, but about 337 B.C. it was given to Argos by Philip II. after the battle of Chaironeia. In 219 B.C. it was attacked with some success by the Spartans under Lykourgos, but seems to have remained Argive, for it was not restored to Laconia till the time of Augustus, when the towns became members of the Eleuthero-Laconian League.

ZARAX.

The remarkable ruins of Zarax,[2] though long known, have hitherto never been accurately surveyed. Besides the rough indication of walls given in the Admiralty chart (reproduced as showing the position of the town in relation to the harbour, Fig. 3) the only plan is the inadequate sketch of Aldenhoven.

The site is a beautiful one. The entrance from the sea is narrow and hemmed in by steep limestone cliffs; on the right hand lie the few white

[1] *Ath. Mitt.* 1877, p. 303, 1; *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 81 ff.; cf. *B.S.A.* xi. pp. 137 ff.

[2] Polybius, iv. 36; Stephanus, *s.v.*; Leake, *op. cit.* i. p. 219; Albrizzi, *Notitia di Morea* (1686), p. 106; Aldenhoven, *op. cit.* p. 364; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 101; Bory de St. Vincent, *Expéd. de Morée*, p. 465; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 291; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 137; Niese, *op. cit.* p. 113.

houses of the village port, beyond which the harbour expands into a shallow lake (called λίμνη) bounded by olive groves: a strip of red alluvial soil at the further end offers a striking contrast to the greys and greens of the rocks and the blue of the sea. All that we know of the ancient history of the place is contained in Pausanias' words[1]: 'A hundred furlongs from Epidaurus is Zarax, a place with a good harbour, but of all the towns of the Free Laconians this is the most decayed, for it was the only town in Laconia which was destroyed by Kleonymos, son of Kleomenes, son of Agesipolis. . . . There is nothing in Zarax but a temple of Apollo at the end of the harbour with an image holding a lute.'

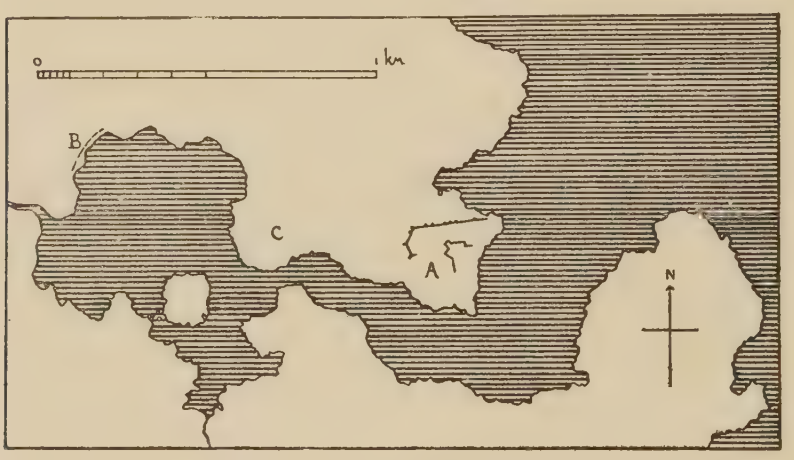


FIG. 3.—ZARAX: PLAN OF HARBOUR.

Zarax presumably belonged to Argos in 272 B.C. when it was destroyed by Kleonymos, as also in 219 B.C. when Lykourgos failed to take it. Like the other coast towns Kyphanta and Prasiai, it seems to have been given back to the Eleuthero-Laconian League by Augustus. The whole of Laconian littoral as far as Zarax,[2] including apparently Glyppia and Leukai, had been taken from Sparta and given to Argos by Philip II. when he arranged the affairs of Greece after the battle of Chaironeia about 337 B.C.

[1] Cf. i. 38. 4: 'Hard by (Eleusis) is a shrine of the hero Zarex. They say that this Zarex learned music from Apollo. I believe that he was a Laconian, . . . and that the city of Zarax on the sea-coast of Laconia is called after him.'

[2] The inhabitants of Zarax are mentioned in one of the Hyperteleatic decrees (Collitz-Bechtel, 4547) dating from the third century B.C.

Curtius identifies the temple of Apollo with the wall (Fig. 3 B) marked on the Admiralty chart at the inner end of the λίμνη. This we were unable to find, and it is on general grounds more probable that (the word λιμὴν being taken as excluding the λίμνη) the site of the temple should be sought on the low terraced hill (Fig. 3 C) just beyond the quay, where a few large worked limestone blocks are lying about.

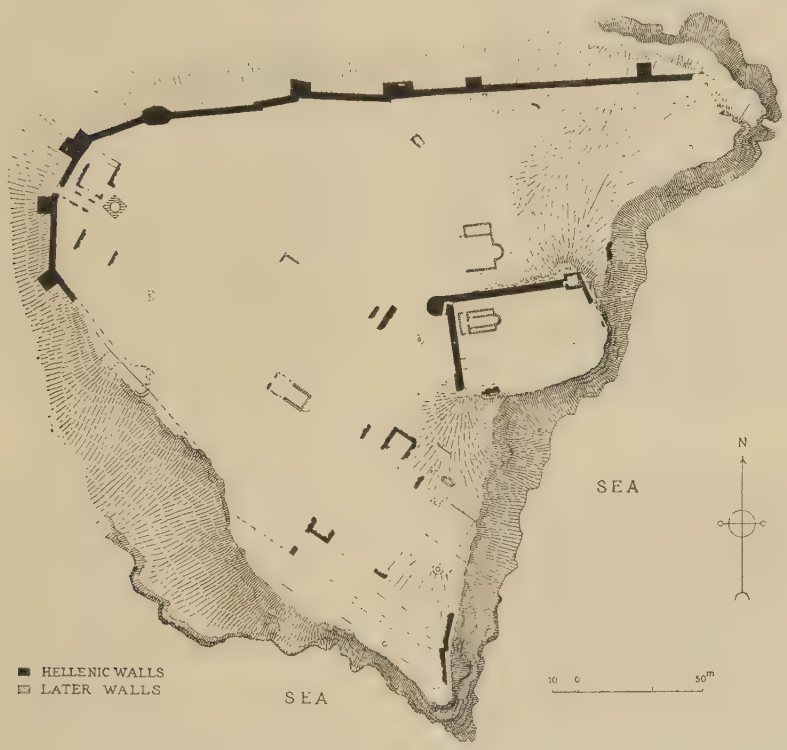


FIG. 4.—ZARAX: PLAN OF WALLS.

The important ruins lie on the northern side of the harbour[1] mouth (Fig. 3 A). These consist of two massive and well-preserved series of walls (Fig. 4): their construction is very varied, ranging from the rudest polygonal to fine squared work (Figs. 5–8); there are even traces of rubble repairs, and within the *enceinte* several ruined churches, all roofless and decayed, are evidence for the late occupation of the site.

[2] Near the harbour was found the tomb which yielded the fine statuette of Aphrodite: Stais, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908, pp. 135 ff.

FIG. 6.—ZARAX: TOWN WALL FROM OUTSIDE.

FIG. 5.—ZARAX: ACROPOLIS WALL FROM OUTSIDE.

FIG. 8.—ZARAX: VIEW OF HARBOUR.

FIG. 7.—ZARAX: HARBOUR WALL OF ACROPOLIS.

The outer defences enclose a triangle, two sides of which, towards the harbour and the open sea, are naturally defended by the cliffs, while the third faces inland. Of the seaward wall hardly anything remains; of that adjacent to the harbour enough can be traced to make good the natural assumption that it followed the line of the first drop in the cliff. The landward wall, which could avail itself only of a slight rise in the ground and thus called for the strongest artificial defences, is still very well

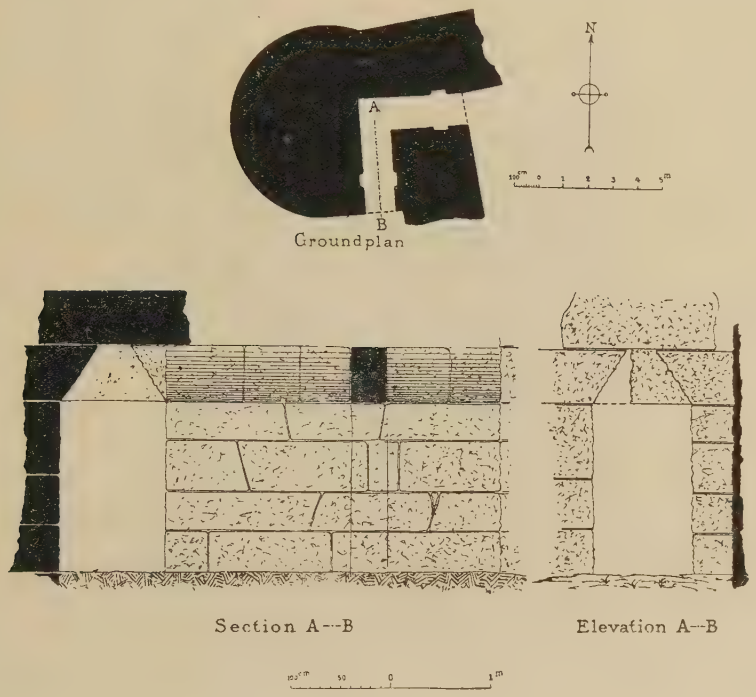


FIG. 9.—ZARAX: PLAN OF ENTRANCE TO ACROPOLIS.

preserved. The towers are generally of carefully squared blocks with drafted corners, and stand to a height of three or four courses (2·10–2·40 m.): the irregular west bastion is in bad repair and the wall at this point is built in a rough style, mostly of moderate-sized stones, but including some blocks as long as 1·65–1·80 m., not laid in courses but placed haphazard and wedged together with small stones. The first set-back marks an improvement in construction, and squared work is, as a rule,

employed at angles and towers, even where the stretches of curtain between are of the roughest polygonal. The seaward bastion bears traces of a mediaeval reconstruction: its platform is approached from inside by a staircase (now ruined) running first at right angles to the wall and then parallel to it. The angles are treated with the same carefully-squared masonry that we have noticed as used for towers and angles throughout.

Of the tiny acropolis, originally quadrangular, the two landward walls (on the north and west) only survive (Figs. 5, 7). They are built for

FIG. 10.—ZARAX: ENTRANCE TO ACROPOLIS.

the most part of finely adjusted polygonal blocks of no great size; the two towers at the junction of the north and west walls and at the seaward extremity of the former, are built of squared stones regularly coursed. In the angle tower is the sole entrance to the acropolis (Figs. 9, 10), a vaulted passage striking first north and then east, and still preserved entire in some places. The roof consists of pairs of large squared stones laid horizontally, the opposed ends being cut away so as to touch only at

the top. At two points there were doors, one in each section of the passage; here there is a square lintel at the level of the spring of the vault, and each lintel is placed over a pair of sinkings cut in the side walls to admit door-jambs.

In spite of the varieties of masonry used, there is no reason to attribute a pre-hellenic origin to the ruins of Zarax: the alternation of polygonal and squared masonry is seen at the neighbouring Epidauros Limera,[1] and even in so elaborate and late a fortification as Messene; and the horizontal vault was also used in classical fortification. As to the mediaeval importance of the place nothing is known. Zarax retains its name in a document of 1292,[2] and seems later to have been called Porto Bottas.[3] The silence of history is not to be wondered at in view of the nature of the site. Zarax, though the finest port on the coast, has no communication except by high and stony passes, with the interior; it is ill-watered and fever-haunted, and the modern villages (Hieraka and Hagios Ioannes), were settled comparatively recently by Albanians from Kremasti, and are backward and cut off from the world. The so-called Kastro close to the village of Rhichea, which lies in a small upland plain about three hours north-west of Zarax, is only a ruined monastery.

KYPHANTA.

It has long been thought that Pausanias was mistaken in saying that Kyphanta[4] was six furlongs from Zarax, for at this distance there is no site corresponding to his description, but Kyparissi which is over a hundred furlongs to the north, exactly corresponds. Here there is a fine bay giving good anchorage, and on two hills overlooking it to the south are two Kastra. One is a Byzantine, and the other a Greek acropolis; the latter is surrounded by a wall standing five or six courses high, and built in a polygonal style that recalls the walls of Zarax. Half an hour inland, in a small valley to the south, a fine spring gushes forth at the foot of a steep cliff. Here there are several rock-cut basins and three terraces, to the

[1] *B.S.A.* xiv. p. 181. [2] Buchon, *Recherches sur la Morée*, lxxxiii.

[3] Uzzano Guilletière, *Lacédemone*, p. 579; *Expéd. de Morée*. iii. p. 56; Pouqueville, *Voyage*, v. pp. 574, 580, where the explanation *Port des Tonneaux* is given. Leake (*Morea*, i. p. 219), citing early *portolani*, gives the name *Porto Cadena*.

[4] Polybius, iv. 36; Pliny, iv. 17; Leake, *op. cit.* ii. p. 500; *Pelop.* p. 298; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 101; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. p. 306; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 237; Philippson, *op. cit.* p. 169; Niese, *op. cit.* p. 112.

uppermost of which a flight of five steps leads. Also, on the upper terrace is a deep bath cut in the rock, and a rock-cut channel to lead water into a square basin below. There are signs that water used to run into all these basins, and probably the spring has been affected by earthquakes. The site is surrounded by a semicircular wall that abuts at both ends on to the cliff. This is without doubt the shrine of Asklepios mentioned by Pausanias: 'Turning inland, and going up country for about ten furlongs, you come to the ruins of Kyphanta. Amongst the ruins is a grotto sacred to Asklepios: the image is of stone. There is also a spring of cold water gushing from a rock.' Pausanias' description so exactly suits the site at Kyparissi, that no one who has seen it can doubt that this is Kyphanta.

The so-called Kastro at Charax[1] two hours to the south of Kyparissi, at the head of a romantic gorge, is only a ruined monastery like that at Rhichea. Near Kyparissi itself, on the road that leads to Kremasti, is a ruined mediaeval village.

PRASIAI OR BRASIAI.

This town[2] is probably rightly identified by Bursian with the ruins at Plaka, the port of Leonidi, although Boblaye, Ross and Curtius would place it at Tyrou further north, and Leake at Hagios Andreas still further north. Since, as we have seen, Kyphanta is to be identified with Kyparissi, we should be left without a name for the not inconsiderable ruins at Plaka, if we were to put Prasiai at Tyrou or elsewhere. At Plaka at the foot of a steep hill is a small, low point running into the sea, probably that on which stood the statues of the Dioskouroi or Korybantes mentioned by Pausanias. The slope of the hill behind is broken by a projection, on which is a tower built of large roughly squared blocks laid in irregular courses (Fig. 11); from here a wall runs down to the north with three or four other towers, each about four metres square, placed at set-backs. The town probably lay to the north of the projection mentioned, because the wall

[1] Philippson, *op. cit.* p. 172.

[2] Thucydides, ii. 56, vi. 105, vii. 18; Aristophanes, *Pax*, l. 242; Polybius, iv. 36; Xenophon, *Hell.* vii. 2; Strabo, viii. 368, 374; Stephanus, *s.v.*; Leake, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 484, 498; *Pelop.* p. 225; Boblaye, *op. cit.* p. 102; Aldenhoven, *op. cit.* p. 366; Ross, *Reisen im Pelop.* p. 165; Curtius, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 306, 322; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 134; the inscribed bronze, said by Mylonas to come from Leonidi (*B.C.H.* 1877, p. 356), according to Julius (*Ath. Mitt.* 1879, p. 18) comes from Kosma.

runs in this direction, and amongst the olive trees on the slope are traces of terrace and foundation walls, and black glazed potsherds are to be found on the surface. On the top of the steep hill are ruins of a Byzantine and mediaeval settlement, and two churches, Hagios Demetrios and Hagios Athanasios, with wall-paintings. There are also a large cistern, a semi-circular tower and the remains of many huts built of small stones with bad mortar.

On the south slope of the hill, tombs with terracottas and coins are said to have been found.

Prasiai was one of the more important Laconian ports, and was one of the original members of the Kalaureian amphiktyony, and probably at

FIG. 11.—TOWER AT PLAKA, LEONIDI.

first belonged to Argos like Kyphanta and Zarax. In 430 and 414 it was ravaged by the Athenians. About 337, after the battle of Chaironeia, it seems to have been given with the rest of the Laconian littoral by Philip II. to Argos. In 219 B.C. it was surprised and taken by Lykourgos, but does not seem to have been restored to Laconia till the time of Augustus, when it, Zarax and Kyphanta were united with the Eleuthero-Laconian League. The importance of this port to Sparta is illustrated by the fact that in 369 B.C. after the battle of Leuktra, when the Corinthians, Phliasians, Sikyonians, Troizenians, Epidaurians and other Spartan allies wished to come to Sparta to help resist the Theban invasion, they reached Sparta by way of Prasiai.

By the village of Poulithra on the south side of the bay of Leonidi, is a hill surrounded by a Greek wall (Fig. 12). This perhaps marks the site

FIG. 12.—WALL AT LEONIDI.

of Polichna,[1] which is only known as one of the towns taken from the Argives, together with Prasiai, Leukai, and Kyphanta, by Lykourgos in 219 B.C.

A. J. B. WACE.
F. W. HASLUCK.

[1] Polybius, iv. 36; Leake, *Pelop.* 364; Ross, *Reisen im Pelop.* p. 166; Bursian, *op. cit.* ii. p. 135.

LACONIA.

III.—THE CHURCHES OF WESTERN MANI.[1]

(Plates XI—XVIII.)

Churches in Lower Mani. (Fig. 1.)

The villages of lower and upper Boularioi lie on the hill-side above the modern port of Gerolimena. Above the upper village stands the church of Hagios Strategos (Pls. XI, XII). It is in three parts, the church proper, the narthex, and a small domed porch. The church belongs to the two-columned type of the later Byzantine school, in which the central dome rests upon two columns to the west and upon the dividing walls of the eastern chapels to the east. Internally it is not very accurately or squarely built, but widens rather to the east: it measures about 16 ft. in breadth by 18 ft. long, with walls of about 2 ft. 9 in. in thickness, and terminates in the usual three eastern apses, semicircular both inside and out.

The shafts supporting the dome are old classic columns re-used, and are much too slender for the Roman Ionic capitals which surmount them. At the springing level the dome vaults are tied with slender marble beams carved with a stiff leaf scroll and with twisted bosses. The church is covered throughout with semicircular barrel vaults over both the high cross arms and the angle compartments, where they run parallel to the

[1] The materials for these notes were gathered in two journeys, the first through Upper Mani from Areopolis to Kalamata in 1906 as a student of the British School at Athens, the second in 1909 from Gerolimena to Kalamata on behalf of the Byzantine Fund. I have to thank Mr. G. Dickins for the photographs of a capital from Platsa. The inscriptions have been read by Mr. R. M. Dawkins, who made a journey to Mani for this purpose. His contributions are enclosed in square brackets.

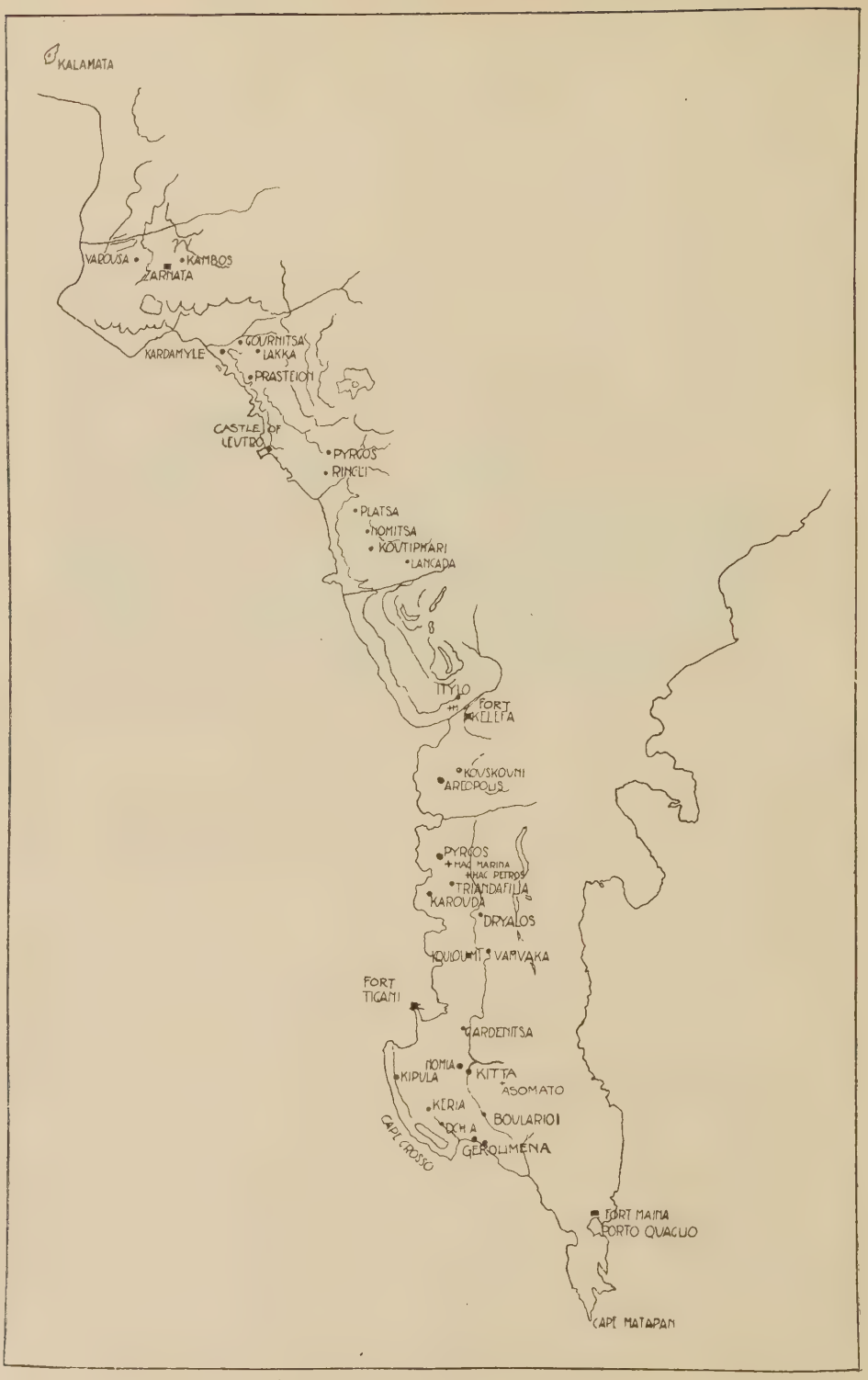


FIG. 1.—MAP OF WESTERN MANI.

main axis. This method is peculiar; groined vaults, the usual covering for the angle compartments, are not used in Mani. The dome stands on a high drum, circular inside and octagonal outside, piered on the square sides by small windows. Above these was originally a flat dentil cornice, of which only a fragment now remains. The roof is very ruinous, but was probably from the first covered with thin slate-like slabs of the local stone.

The narthex is of the full breadth of the church and 7 ft. 7 in. deep, covered with a transverse barrel vault, across which the western barrel vault of the church is carried at a higher level, a system, so far as I know, peculiar to Mani. On the ground at either side are low coffers formed of stone slabs and probably intended for bones. The slab on the south side is carved with three crosses; on the north side are two slabs, one with two very crudely carved animals, the other with an interlacing panel and rosettes.

In contrast to the rudeness of this carving is the marble Eikonostasis (Pl. XVI), of which the greater part still remains. At each side of the three eastern arches are slender octagonal marble shafts, set upon high square posts with projecting door-stops terminating in interlaced knobs. Upon the shafts are splayed lintels carved with interlacing scrolls, arcades, pierced bosses, and grotesque animals. In the centre bay are two such lintels, the lower chipped away all but a delicate bead string, the upper with a double splay. The side bays have only one lintel, similar to the upper lintel of the central bay. The whole Eikonostasis and the tie-beams of the vault are of a greyish white marble and very delicately carved. The sketch from Asomato on the same plate, shows a richer shaft of the same traditional pattern.

In front of the narthex is a square porch measuring externally 12 ft. by 15 ft. and covered by a low semicircular dome, drumless inside and originally pierced by seven windows corresponding to seven sides of a low external drum. The eighth side butts upon the western gable. The drum has little circular shafts let into the angles and a flat dentil cornice like the central dome. The porch is entered on the west by a large door spanned by a brick arch in two courses, and has a double arched opening on each side with brick arches, strongly projecting splayed capitals and octagonal shafts. Above the western door is a later belfry.

The church is built of oblong blocks of stone with thin red tiles in both horizontal and vertical joints. The masonry has been much disturbed,

but, where perfect, is of good quality. The springing line of the west door arch is marked by a double course of tiles, and round the arch is a dentil band. The same ornament is used between the side arches of the porch and in the cornices, but, save for this, there is no decoration. The masonry is of the same character from the ground upwards, excepting at the east end, where the apses stand upon a podium of large rubble.

About a mile and three-quarters from the promontory of Tigani, in Gardenitsa, is a church dedicated to Our Saviour (H. Soter) (Pls. XI, XII.). In plan and structure it is identical with Boularioi and is of very nearly the same size, measuring 16 ft. 9 in. long by 19 ft. 9 in. broad, with a narthex 7 ft. 4 in. in depth. The porch is considerably smaller, only some 8 feet square inside, and the internal proportions are very low.

The western side of the dome rests on two square piers with cubical capitals. The square of the dome is slightly larger than the breadth of the cross arms, so that above each support is a small re-entering angle; an earthenware pot is built in at the base of each pendentive, and the dome arches are tied with marble beams. As at Boularioi, the longitudinal barrel vault of the church is carried across the transverse vault of the narthex. In the Eikonostasis are one or two Byzantine slabs with interlacing panels of the usual form. The apses show three sides of a hexagon to the outside and are each pierced with a small window. The porch is similar in design to that at Boularioi, save that the double-arched side openings do not extend to the floor level, but are treated as windows, and that the dome is windowless and without the external drum. The lower part of the walls is built of large stones irregularly coursed and interspersed with bricks. The angles are formed with large upright marble slabs and on the north side are three large *Tau* crosses made of similar slabs. Here and there are old stones re-used, some from classic buildings, some carved with rough Byzantine ornament. Above this podium is more regular masonry of squared blocks of brown limestone with bricks in the joints. The windows are brick, arched; the walls and gable have still a much broken brick dentil cornice and in the north gable are traces of a brick fret. The dome is octagonal outside with eight windows, over which the cornice is carried in a series of arches forming the typical arched cornice of the later Byzantine school. At the angles are circular shafts without capitals or bases and recessed deeply into the masonry. The apses are carefully

built with brick and stone. At about two-thirds of the height from the ground is a dentil band and in the two courses between this and the cornice, are cut brick ornaments of the type found at Salona, St. Luke in Stiris,[1] and other churches of the eleventh century, to which date Gardenitsa may be assigned.

Boularioi and Gardenitsa are the only churches in Mani which have domed porches, but attached to the little cell church of H. Georgios at Drialos, between Pyrgos and Vamvaka, is a barrel-vaulted structure which has some affinity to these porches (Pls. XI, XII). The church itself is a rude cell 12 ft. by 19 ft. long and is quite modern. On its southern side is a building 17 ft. long by 13 ft. wide outside, having to east and west openings with stone arches and brick dentil archivolts. At the south end is a double-arched door with a central column treated in a similar manner and with the brick dentil course continued across the end wall. Above is a belfry, broken at the top, built of brick and stone with bands of brick patterning, dentils, diamonds, and squares. The masonry of the walls is of stone and irregular.

The orientation—north and south—will not allow us to regard this as an entrance porch such as those at Boularioi and Gardenitsa. At the modern church of Triandafilia there is, however, a large southern porch, and the porch of H. Georgios may have occupied this position in some more important church than the present little cell. Its date, to judge by the masonry, is late fourteenth or fifteenth century.

The church of H. Nikolaos at Ochia (Pl. XII), a little to the north of Gerolimena, closely resembles Gardenitsa in plan and in the technique of its brick and stone masonry. It has no stone podium with crosses, and the walls from the ground are of carefully squared stones with bricks in both vertical and horizontal joints. On either side of the door is a short length of brick fret (Pl. XVI) surmounted by two courses of brick and a projecting brick dentil course, a common decoration, of which examples may be cited at Manolas and at the church at Areia in Argolis.[2] On the lintel of the west door are three rosettes, and over it a slightly horseshoed stone arch, above which in the gable is a small window lighting the narthex. The church has originally had a deep brick band beneath the eaves, but this is now plastered up and the pattern, if any, is unrecogniz-

[1] See Schultz and Barnsley, *The Church of St. Luke in Stiris.*

[2] A. Struck, 'Vier Byzantinische Kirchen der Argolis,' *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiv. 210 ff.

able. In the north gable are the remains of a two light window with brick arches and a central marble shaft. The dome is octagonal with an arched cornice ; on each side is a window, those on the square sides filled in with flatly carved marble slabs, those on the diagonal sides probably originally open, though now built up with rubble.

At each angle is a slender octagonal shaft with a small square capital surmounted by a boldly projecting gargoyle. These are in the form of grotesque animals, from whose open mouths the water spouts in very Gothic fashion. At the south-western angle is a square tower in receding stories,

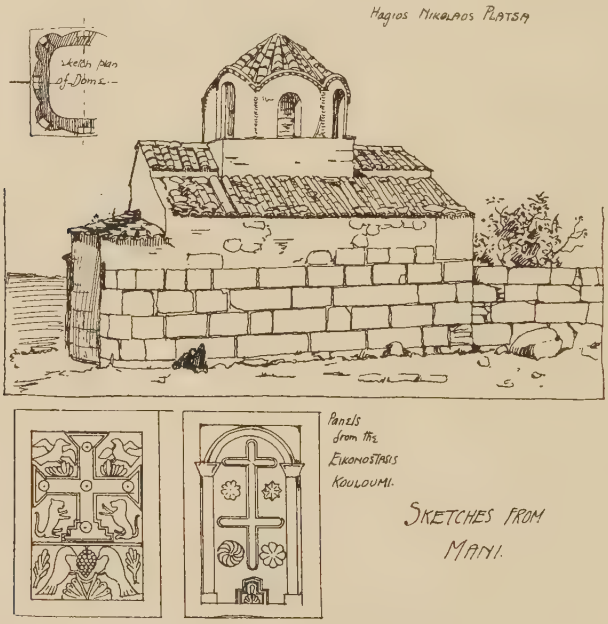


FIG. 2.—SKETCHES FROM MANI.

surmounted by a pyramidal roof which should be compared with those at Areopolis and Kardamyle. The date of its erection (1861) is given on a stone built into the south side. The interior of the church is low in proportion, with marble tie-beams to the dome arches (Pl. XIII). The original Eikonostasis has disappeared, and upon the rough wall which takes its place is an elaborate but coarsely carved cross similar to that at Itylo (see below). The paintings are late and are much damaged.

The church of S. Michael (Ἅγιος ταξιάρχης) at Kouloumi is also of the two-columned type but has been almost rebuilt. Fig. 2 shows two panels of the Eikonostasis; they are good examples of the rude carving found in every church in Lower Mani, low and flat in relief with well-known Byzantine subjects very conventionally treated: the design showing two birds pecking at grapes is typical.

In the little village of Vamvaka above Kouloumi is a two-columned church with a narthex, H. Theodoros. Excepting at the eastern end the lower part of the wall is of rubble, and the upper part is carefully built of squared brown limestone with bricks in all the joints. The windows are arched in brick (Pl. XVI); that in the south gable is double with a highly stilted covering arch, and over it, in the apex of the gable, is a faïence pot. The dome is octagonal with an arched cornice and with windows on the square sides only. The diagonal sides are of brick and stone masonry with a coloured faïence pot in the centre of the arched top, and a slight ornamentation with upright bricks is used to fill out the squared masonry to the circular line of the arched cornice.

[On the lower face of the western of the four marble tie-beams of the dome arches is the following inscription. I have divided the words.

+ΜΝ̊ ΚΕ ΤΥ ΔΥΛΟΥ CΥ ΛΕΟΝΤΟC ΑΜΑ CΗΝΒΗΥ Κ̅Ϛ ΤΟΝ ΤΕΚΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΥ· ΤΟΥ ΠΟΘΥ ΠΟΛΥ ΚΤΗCΑΜΕΝΥ ΤΥC ΚΟCΜΗΤΕC | C ΤΥΤΟΥC ΗΨΑΛΟΝΤΕC ΕΥΧΕCΘΕ ΗΠΕΡ ΑΥΤΥ ΑΜΗ ΓΕΝΗΤΟ Κ̅Ε̅· ΕΤΕΛΥΟΘΗCΑ ΔΕ· ΧΗΡΥ ΝΗΚΤΗ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΑ· ΜΝ̊ ΑΥΓΥC ϛ ϛ̅ ΙΓ ΕΤ̊ ϛ̅ΦΠΓ +

i.e. corrected and accented :—

+Μν(ήσ)θ(ητι) Κ(ύρι)ε τοῦ δούλου σου Λέοντος ἅμα συμβίου κ(αὶ) τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ· τοῦ πόθου πολ(λ)οῦ κτησαμένου τοὺς κοσμῆτες | <σ> τούτους· οἱ ψάλ(λ)οντες εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· ἀμὴ(ν) γένοιτο Κ(ύρι)ε. Ἐτελειώθησα(ν) δὲ χειρὶ Νικ(η)τὴ μαρμαρᾶ· μην(ὸς) Αὐγούστου ἰνδ(ικτιῶνο)ς ιγ' ἔτο(υς) ϛφπγ'.

The date reads 6583 or, in western chronology, 1075 A.D.

Modern Greek forms are κοσμῆτες for the acc. pl. of κοσμήτης, 'entablature,' instead of κοσμήτας (the nom. would also end in -ες), Νικητή as gen. of Νικητής, and μαρμαρᾶς, the modern word for a stone-mason.

Before *πόθου πολ(λ)οῦ* it is possible that *ἀπό* should be supplied, but I prefer to regard it as an example of the confusion of the gen. and dat., of which examples are seen below in the parallel use of the two cases in the probably slightly later[1] inscription at Koutiphari (*ἅμα συμβίου καὶ τέκνοις αὐτοῦ*), and again at Hagia Marina at Pyrgos (*τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικητῇ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ*).

The modern Greek use of the gen. for the dat. of the indirect object, a result of this confusion, also appears in the Hagia Marina inscriptions (*δὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνεσιν*).

Whoever has seen a Greek congregation crossing themselves at the words in the Gospel *Μνήσθητί μου Κύριε ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου*, will feel the effective appropriateness of the formula *Μνήσθητι Κύριε τοῦ δούλου σου* in these memorial inscriptions.

On the north end of the lintel of the west door, on the middle of which is a cross between two peacocks, is the following inscription in the same lettering and style as the one above.

+ΜΝΗϹΘΗΤΗ ΚΕ ΤΟΝ ϹΟ | ΔΟΥΛΟ ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΠΡ | ΚΥ ΚΑΛΗϹ ΤΟΥ ΚΤΗϹΑΜ|ΕΝΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΗΑΝ ΜΟΝΗΝ Τ . . ΤΗ.

i.e. *Μνήσθητι Κ(ύρι)ε τῶν σῶ(ν) δούλω(ν) Θεοδώρου πρ(εσβυτέρου) κ(αὶ) Καλῆς τοῦ κτησαμένου τὴν ἁγίαν μονὴν τ[αύ]τη(ν).*

ΠΡ is written as a monogram, and a break in the stone has destroyed two letters of *ταύτην*.

We learn from this inscription that whilst Leo dedicated the entablatures inside the church, the monastery as a whole was founded by this Theodore in honour of his patron saint.

On the inner face of each jamb of the door is a foliated cross in relief, and the one on the southern jamb has above it the letters Π, Υ and originally a letter in each angle, of which only those in the left angles are legible. These are Φ, Φ. The whole was therefore Π . Υ . Φ . (?) . Φ . (?) . being no doubt the initials of some pious formula applicable to the cross, such as Τ(*οῦτο*) Τ(*ὸ ξύλον*) Δ(*αίμονες*) Φ(*ρίττουσι*) or Ἐ(*κ Θεοῦ*) Ἐ(*δόθη*) Ε(*ὕρημα*) Ἑ(*λένῃ*). Both of these jambs have been built in upside down. This foliated cross occurs several times on the building, and one on the

[1] On the supposition that Leo Maselis, who is the father of Sampatios, is the same man as this Leo.

outer face of the north jamb has the usual letters $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ $\overline{\text{N}}(\iota)$ $\overline{\text{K}}(\hat{a})$ in the angles.

Built into the west wall upside down, is a marble irregularly inscribed (Leake, *Morea*, iii, No. 41 ; Le Bas-Foucart, 278 *g*) :—

ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΑΥΓΗ ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΕΠΙΤΕΥΞΙ ΧΑΙΡΕ]

Our last example of the two-columned plan is the curious little mountain church of Asomato (Pl. XI). It stands high among the bare hills above Kitta close to a well of clear water, one of the few springs between Gerolimena and Pyrgos. Internally it measures 20 ft. 6 in. broad by about 19 ft. 6 in. long, slightly larger than either Gardenitsa or Boularioi. The eastern apses are circular both inside and out, and to the west is a small square barrel-vaulted narthex. The central dome stands on four piers, between the eastern pair of which is the Eikonostasis ; the plan thus stands between the usual two-columned type and the four-columned type of such churches as Kitta (see below). The dome arches are set back about 9 inches from the face of the piers, as at Gardenitsa, and had originally marble tie-beams. On the outside the drum of the dome is octagonal with plumb sides pierced with window openings, of which only one, that to the east, is pierced through ; inside, the diameter is 7 ft. 9 in. at the top of the pendentives and lessens to 6 ft. 3 in. at the springing of the dome. The construction of this is peculiar : two stone arches, formed of large slabs, have first been thrown across, meeting at the crown ; the spaces between have then been filled in with long slabs wedged up with smaller fragments (Pl. XIII). The whole church is built of thin split stones, for the local stone splits readily into long thin posts and slabs and these have been used without further preparation. Mortar is used in the walls, but, if ever used, has long ago been washed completely out of the vaults, and light comes in freely through the chinks of the dome. There are no tiles nor cut stones and the church has evidently been built of the local material, with, as is shown by the dome construction, a very sparing use of wood centering. As it stands at present there is not a scrap of wood in the church and one feature alone is not of local manufacture, the Eikonostasis (Pl. XVI), which is of greyish white marble, of the type

found at Boularioi but more elaborately carved, and must have been imported.

The next group we have to consider includes churches in which the central dome is supported on four columns, between the eastern pair of which is the Eikonostasis. It is differentiated from the two-columned type by the fact that, in the latter, the eastern dome supports are the antae of the walls between the eastern chapels, whilst in the churches we are considering these are independent shafts. The only example of this class in Lower Mani is the church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus at Kitta; in Upper Mani are two more, the Transfiguration (H. Metamorphosis) at Koutiphari and H. Demetrios at Platsa.

The Church of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, popularly called H. Georgios or, still more often, Tourloté (ἡ Τουρλωτή), from the dome (τροῦλος) by which it is surmounted, lies about half a mile to the north of Kitta (Pls. XI, XIV and Fig. 3). It is an exact square in plan, 16 ft. 5 in. broad by 16 ft. 7 in. long internally, with walls 2 ft. 3 in. thick. The eastern apses show each three sides of a hexagon to the outside, and are semicircular inside. The vaulting is similar to the previous examples, the arms of the cross are barrel-vaulted and the angle compartments at the lower level have longitudinal barrel vaults. The four shafts supporting the dome are octagonal, 1 ft. 9 in. in diameter, and are surmounted by well carved cubical capitals of distinctly original type (Pl. XVI) and probably of local workmanship. The flat outlined carving of the flowers on each face and the simple volutes resemble the panels from Kouloumi in technique, although infinitely superior in design. The photograph (Pl. XIII) shows the carved marble tie-beams and string-course at the springing of the dome arches, and the chequered sill-course to the drum. At the bottom of the pendentives are the holes in which earthenware pots were placed, a usual and traditional construction adopted either from some theory of acoustics or to lighten the masonry at this point. There seem to have been longitudinal tie-beams above the capitals also, but these are now gone. The church had originally no narthex, but part of a wall and vault of rough masonry at the west end show where one has been added in later times (Pl. XI).

The masonry is carefully worked and is more elaborate here than in any other church in Mani. The lower part of the wall forms a podium of large squared blocks of brown limestone and white marble, forming on the

FIG. 3.—H. GEORGIOS, KITTA, FROM THE SOUTH.

H. TAXIARCHES, AREOPOLIS.

south side three large crosses with two *Tau* crosses between them. Above this is a dentil band of one course of bricks laid anglewise, with very thick mortar joints; next come two courses of brick laid in thick mortar beds and breaking joint. Above this the wall is faced with a broad band of small square tiles set diagonally (resembling the Roman *opus reticulatum*). This band reaches to the dentil cornice under the eaves of the low angle compartments. In each gable is a large window, flanked on either side by half arches filled with diagonal tiling and with faïence pots in the angles. The angles and side walls are of stone. The dome is octagonal with octagonal angle shafts and splayed block capitals and is pierced with eight windows. The masonry is brick and stone with brick arches to the windows and an arched dentil cornice. The roofs were of thin stone slabs, but these have mostly fallen off.

The west door has a strongly horseshoed arch, and on the lintel is an inscription broken in the middle by two square rosettes.

[On the north half of the lintel :—

+κε̊ βωηθι σων δουλον γαιωργη|ων των μαρασηατην αμα συν|βηου και των τεκνων αυτου

and on the south half :—

των κτησαντα τον πασεπτων ναων τον α|γηων μαρτυρων σεργηου και βαχου|και του αγηου γεωργηου μετα πω|λου πωθο(υ) και μωκτου+

in a running minuscule hand with very faulty spelling and without accents. I have separated the words. Corrected it would run :—

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει σὸν δοῦλον Γεώργιον τὸν Μαρασιάτην ἅμα συμβίου καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ, τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν πά(ν)σεπτον ναὸν τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Σεργίου καὶ Βά(κ)χου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου μετὰ πολ(λ)οῦ πόθου καὶ μόχθου +

The epithet Μαρασιάτης finds its explanation in the fact that the locality in which the church stands is called Marase (ἡ Μαράση), and it may be supposed that the George of Marase, who built the church, had property there, and added the second dedication to his own patron S. George.

The curious spelling μώκτου for μόχθου arises from the fact that in the common modern pronunciation χθ and κτ are both pronounced χτ, and in this way a scribe accustomed to pronounce *e.g.* ἐχτρός and ὀχτώ but write ἐχθρός and ὀκτώ, might very well not know in any given case

whether he ought to write his unliterary pronunciation χτ as χθ or κτ, and would thus be liable to write κτ for χθ and χθ for κτ.]

We may now pass to the true four-columned churches, in which the dome is supported on four columns, as in the previous class, but in which the Sanctuary occupies an additional bay to the east; the body of the church is therefore a square, with the dome and its four columns in the centre. This is the commonest of all late Byzantine plans. H. Taxiarches at Karouda is typical (Pl. XI). Internally this church measures 22 ft. 6 in. by 22 ft. 6 in.,—an exact square including the Sanctuary, so that the 'aisles' are much wider than the longitudinal divisions; the church, in fact, would seem to have been set out as though for a building of the previous type. The apses are hexagonal and the construction and vaulting are similar to Gardenitsa or Boularioi. As is usual in Mani the proportions are low. In the centre of the floor are remains of an oblong marble pavement with a border of white and dark marble inlaid in feathered and diamond patterns. The door on the south side is a later insertion.

Externally the lower part of the walls is built of very large slabs of marble (Pl. XII); one on the west front measures some 11 ft. long by 15 in. deep. Above this podium a brick dentil course marks the commencement of the brick and stone masonry, which is similar to that of Kitta and of distinctly fine quality. The western door has reeded marble jambs and a carved lintel (Fig. 4), the most delicate piece of carving in the district. Over the lintel is a brick arch in two rings, and on either side of the door are stone brackets to support a wooden porch. The windows in the narthex gables and dome are double with a central octagonal shaft, the arches are of brick and very highly stilted and in the spandrils are coloured faïence bowls. Over the west end is a modern belfry, to accommodate which part of the west gable has been taken down and rebuilt. The paintings are much later in date than the church and are fairly perfect. The lower part of the walls have a range of full-length figures of prophets and saints continued round the whole church commencing with S. Michael on the left-hand side of the Eikonostasis. This is the usual position in Greece for the Eikon of the saint to whom the church is dedicated, and in many of the later churches, at Platsa and elsewhere, a shallow arched niche is formed in the wall for it. The shrines at Geraki[1] are more elaborate but serve the same

[1] A. J. B. Wace, 'Frankish Sculptures at Geraki and Parori,' *B.S.A.* xi. p. 143, Fig. 4. *Id.* xi. p. 142, Fig. 2, H. Paraskevè, Geraki. *Id.* xii. Pl. IV., Shrine in S. George, Geraki.

purpose. Above this range of saints the walls and vaults are covered with small pictures of martyrdoms and of scenes from the life of Our Lord. In the lower part of the apse is the Divine Liturgy, above is a range of angels and in the semi-dome, the Virgin and Child. In the east barrel vault, above the altar, is Christ in Glory. The general scheme is typical of the Maniote churches and may be compared with the scheme of the late churches as exemplified by Itylo (see below). It corresponds in general to the directions given in the 'Byzantine Guide to Painting.'

Of the same type but slightly larger, 21 ft. broad by 27 ft. long, is H. Joannes at Keria (Pl. XI), close to Ochia. This church is remark-

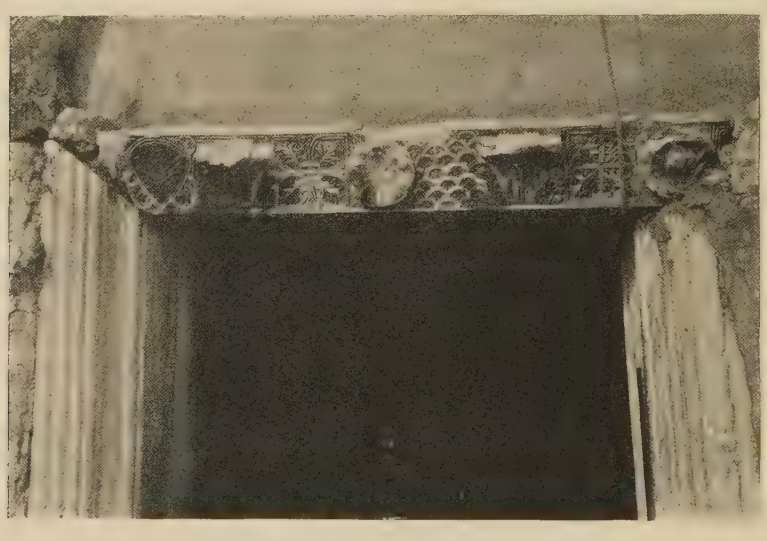


FIG. 4.—H. TAXIARCHES, KAROUDA. WEST DOOR.

able for the large number of old stones, both classic and Byzantine, re-used in its walls. The west wall in particular is almost built of Byzantine slabs with interlacing designs, scraps of carved string courses, classic plinths, and Ionic capitals, and in front of the church are several classic shafts set upright in the ground. On each side of the west door are brackets to support a porch as at Karouda, and, in the gable are a number of faïence bowls. Internally the lintels of the old Eikonostasis remain, carved with patterns similar to those at Boularioi; the plaster has been largely broken away and what painting remains is modern and very poor. Classic shafts with Ionic bases as capitals have been re-used under the dome.

A short distance to the south of Pyrgos is the church of H. Marina, standing alone on the hillside. The plan and construction are as in the preceding two examples and the masonry is of brick and stone, carefully built, with a dentil course round the building at the cornice level. The dome is octagonal with angle shafts and has four windows set on the square sides. The window recesses on the diagonal sides have faïence bowls in the arches. The arched cornice is of stone and the roofing of tiles. The windows on the north and south gables were originally double; they are now built up, but the dentil course of the large containing arch shows their position. The narthex and west front have been rebuilt on the old lines and with the usual belfry. On the marble ties to the dome arches, are three inscriptions:—

[On the east beam:—

ΑΡΧΗϹΤΡΑΤΗΓΕ ΤΩΝ ΑΝΟ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΩΝ ϹΚΕΠΕ ΦΡΥΡΙ ΦΥΛΑΤΤΕ ΕΥϹΤΡΑΤΙΩ̄ ΤΩ̄ ΚΥΛΥΡΑ ΑΜΗΝ ΓΕΝΙΤΩ ΚΕ̄.

i.e.—Ἀρχιστράτηγε τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων σκέπε φρούρει φύλαττε Εὐστράτιο(ν) τὸ(ν) Κουλουρᾶ· ἀμὴν γένοιτο, Κ(ύρι)ε.

The words Ἀρχιστράτηγε τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων are taken, I am informed, from the service at the feast of the archangels Michael and Gabriel held on Nov. 8th., and are thus appropriate to the name Eustratios. Σκέπε φρούρει φύλαττε is another liturgical phrase used at the feast of the Purification of the Virgin on Feb. 2nd (ἡ Ὑπαπαντή).

On the west beam:—

ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΥΛΟΥ ϹΟΥ ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΛΟΥΡΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΩϹ ΑΥΤΥ ΑΝΕϹΗΝ ΕΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΙϹ.

i.e.—Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τοῦ δούλου σου Θεοδώρου τοῦ Κουλουρᾶ, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῦ ἄνεσιν ἐν ἡμέραις.

It is just possible that there may have been a word after ἡμέραις. Αὐτοῦ would be expected. The phrase δὸς αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. is also a reminiscence of the liturgy.

On the north beam:—

ΚΕ ΒΟΗΘΗ ΤΩ ϹΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ΝΙΚΗΤΗ ΚΩ ΚΕ ΠΑΝΤΟϹ ΤΟΥ ΗΚΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΑΜΗΝ ΓΕΝΙΤΟ ΚΕ +

i.e.—Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Νικητῇ Κο(υλουρᾷ) καὶ παντὸς τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ· ἀμὴν γένοιτο, Κ(ύρι)ε +

The Κω after Νικητῇ may be the beginning of Κουλουρᾷ spelled with ωυ instead of ου, though such a spelling would be unusual. The name would be natural here, both because the other two inscriptions in the church celebrate members of this family and also because without it Niketes is left without a surname. The name Νικητικός is, I believe, unknown. The surname Koulouras still survives in the district. The confusion of the gen. and dat. has been mentioned above in connexion with the Koutiphari inscription.

A confusion of the two phrases Κύριε βοήθει τὸν δοῦλόν σου and Μνήσθητι Κύριε τοῦ δούλου σου may be responsible for the gen. after βοηθῶ.

In the originals the words in these three inscriptions are not divided.]

Further to the south, about a mile from Pyrgos, is the church of H. Petros (Pls. XI, XIV). In plan it is a Greek cross, 21 ft. 10 in. across the arms from north to south, and 24 ft. from the west wall to the chord of the apse. The arms are 10 ft. broad internally, and the walls about 2 ft. thick. The eastern arm terminates in a single large apse 8 ft. 3 in. across, circular inside and hexagonal outside. There are no side chapels or altars, but on the east side of the north arm is a small niche. The central square is covered by a dome on a high drum, the arches under which are set back from the supporting piers as at Gardenitsa and Asomato. The dome is octagonal externally, built of good brick and stone masonry, but without the usual angle shafts. The four cardinal sides are pierced with windows, and in the four diagonal sides are glazed bowls. The cornice is arched. The general masonry is brick and stone—not very regular, and without dentil bands or cornices. Only round the horseshoe arch of the west door is a line of dentil.

The cruciform plan is not common in Greece, but examples may be cited at Manolas,[1] H. Nikolaos, Methana, H. Nikolaos, Platani,[1] with circular ends to the arms, and H. Soter, Plataniti,[2] where the cross form shows internally only at the ground level. It is by no means uncommon in Asia Minor and occurs at Binbirkilissi, and in the rock-cut tombs of Tal Gerome. It is possible that our present example was a baptistery, as there is still a rude stone basin lying in the south arm. The floor of the north and south arms is unpaved and rough, but I could hear of no burials having taken place. In

[1] G. Lampakes, *Mémoire sur les Antiquités Chrétiennes de la Grèce*, Athènes, 1902.
[2] Struck, *Ath. Mitt.* xxxiv. 191 ff.

date the church is probably later than Karouda or Kitta, if one may judge by the less careful masonry.

The church of the Panagia at Nomia (Pl. XI) to the west of Kitta originally consisted of three cells set side by side and covered by barrel vaults and divided into bays by transverse arches. In its present ruined state it is difficult to say how far they extended westwards—the present length of the wall outside is 42 ft. At the time this church was visited, a new church was actually being built round and over the old one, which was later to be pulled down. To make way for the new walls, the two side cells had been pulled down and even their foundations rooted out. A few fragments of a good marble Eikonostasis were lying on the ground.

The cell form is almost universal in modern village churches, but can be traced back to at least the thirteenth century, the date of the Geraki churches, and the system of setting three cells side by side is found again in H. Georgios at Geraki and in H. Nikolaos at Platsa.

UPPER MANI.

The mediaeval churches on the western coast of Upper Mani are concentrated in the group of little villages round Koutiphari. At Itylo is one—the church of Our Saviour, but from Itylo to Langada is a very deserted stretch. From Platsa northwards to Kardamyle is a richer country, but all the churches seem to have been modernised. The group of churches about Kardamyle belong to the eighteenth century and require separate treatment.

The church of the H. Anargyroi ('the holy Penniless Ones,' *i.e.* SS. Cosmas and Damian, physicians who took no fees), which lies below Koumani near the village spring (Pls. XIV, XV), is square in plan, with a large central dome carried on four wall arches, which form four short cross arms. It measures 14 ft. 6 in. broad by 16 ft. 7 in. long inside, the walls are from 2 ft. 9 in. to 3 ft. thick. The central dome is about 12 ft. by 10 ft. 6 in. and, as is very commonly the case, is not set on a true square; the eastern end is at present square, with three little niches, but the whole east wall is of later build, and an apse may be confidently assumed as the original termination. The masonry externally is rough and the whole building has evidently been pulled about and extensively repaired. The entrance door has originally been

very lofty, with a stone arch having a small bowtell moulding on the edge; this is enclosed in a square frame of brick, with a diamond diaper pattern. Above, in the apex of the gable, is a triangular patch of similar brick diapering. The belfry is of better stone than the walls, with bands of brick dentil between courses of cut masonry. The dome is octagonal externally with a window on each face, arched cornice and angle shafts, and is of cut stone with treble tile courses. The form of the plan is found at the church of the Archangels, Syge,[1] and at Plataniti in Argolis,[2] and may be compared with such churches as SS. Peter and Mark, the Diaconissa and the Sangackdar Djamissi at Constantinople, all of which show a simple, short-armed cross internally. The type is most common in the Basilian Renaissance: Syge is assigned to 780 A.D. (on the evidence of a doubtful inscription), Struck dates Plataniti as tenth or eleventh century, and the Constantinople churches belong probably to the ninth or tenth century. The very battered state of our example makes it difficult to date, but judging by the type of the brickwork, it might belong to the thirteenth century. The plan is very uncommon in Greece.

The number of small churches in this neighbourhood is very great; in Platsa alone are twelve or thirteen, and they are dotted everywhere over the countryside and in the villages. They are all oblong, barrel-vaulted cells, very small, and terminating in semicircular apses, and all seem to have been built in the seventeenth or eighteenth century to judge by their bad masonry and coarse painting. Beyond the evidence they give of the great revival of religious feeling and of church building in these late times, they are of no importance.

The Church of H. Nikolaos at Platsa is the only simple-cell church which we need consider (Pl. XV). In plan it consists of three cells set side by side, the centre 10 ft., the side cells 8 ft. broad, communicating with one another by three doors in the intervening walls. To the east the church terminates in three apses, semicircular both inside and outside and occupying the full breadth of the cells, so that there is no return of the east wall until above the apsidal roofs. Three doors on the west communicate with a large courtyard enclosed in later walls. At some later time a dome has been placed over the centre cell, resting on piers which partly block up the doors between the chapels and, apparently in order to lessen the spread of the pendentives, the dome is internally a square with

[1] F. W. Hasluck, 'Bithynica,' *B.S.A.* xiii. p 295, Fig. 6 [2] Struck, *op. cit.*

rounded angles, and externally circular with projecting lobes at the angles; the form thus has a certain resemblance to an octagon with convex lobed sides. On each side is a window, but these are all built up, plastered and painted on the inside, and the church has no light excepting that which enters by the western doors. The walls are built of large square blocks of brown limestone for two-thirds of their height, and above that of

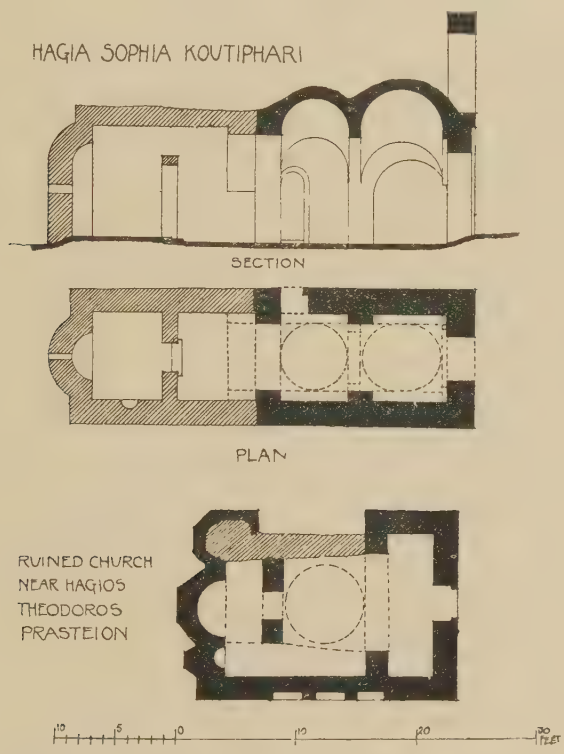


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF H. SOPHIA AND OF H. THEODOROS.

smaller and less carefully laid stones. The dome is plastered over with mortar externally and has a dentil band in the cornice. This arrangement of three cells is found again in the thirteenth-century church at Geraki. The church is mainly interesting for the structural form of the central dome.

At Koutiphari are the remains of a curious little church dedicated to the Divine Wisdom (H. Sophia) (Pl. XIV and Fig. 5). At present it is a

long cell, measuring internally 29 ft. by 7 ft. 3 in. broad, but the entire eastern half is modern. The western half consists of two bays covered by drumless domes resting on wall arches and pilasters, with one door to the west and a second small door on the south side. The masonry of the exterior is very much broken, but the old arch of the door still remains above the later patching; it has a narrow stone archivolt with slight drafted margins, surrounded by a brick dentil course which is continued as a string-course across the front at the springing level; the arch is framed in a square by a brick band of two courses, with a wedge or feather pattern between, which has been partly cut away in order to allow of the belfry being built. The belfry is of brick and stone with a diamond pattern about halfway up and stone arches framed in brick dentils, and is very similar to those at the H. Anargyroi or at Drialos. The few fragments of brickwork would seem to indicate a date in the thirteenth century, about the same time as the H. Anargyroi, but the plan is quite peculiar.

[The lintel of the gateway in the wall which encloses the church is formed by a piece of a marble beam built in upside down and broken at both ends. From its appearance it originally formed the upper part of an Eikonostasis, and similar fragments are now in this position in the church. It is decorated with a rudely cut pattern in relief of a waving branch, on the alternately placed leaves of which is the following inscription divided according to the leaves, upon which the letters are arranged with a good deal of inevitable irregularity. The words are not separated, and some accents are omitted.

. . . . ΝΗ | ΚΕ ΤΥ ΔΥΛΥ | CΥ CΑΝΠΑ|ΤΗΥ ΗΥ ΛΕ|ΟΝΤΟC ΤΥ | ΜΑCΕΛΗ· | ΑΜΑ CΗΒΗΥ | Κ ΤΕΚΝΗC | ΑΥΤΥ ΤΥ ΠΟ|

At the beginning no more than the first leaf has been lost, but at the end a long piece must be lacking, as is indicated by the position upon the projecting carved face of the marble, above the inscribed band, of two raised bosses, the position of which was no doubt originally symmetrical.

The lintel of the church of Hagia Trias, close by, is formed of a similar marble decorated with the same pattern, with lettering of the same character arranged on the leaves. The inscription runs :—

. . . . ΝΥ ΤΟ|Ν ΑΓΙΟ ΝΑΟΝ Τ|ΥΤΟ· Η ΨΑΛΟΝΤΕC | ΔΗΑ ΤΟ ΘΝ ΕΥΧΕ|CΘΕ ΑΥΤΟC ΝΙΚΤΙ | Κ ΕΝ ΙΜΕΡΑ

The stone is broken at the beginning but complete at the end.

A comparison with the inscription from Vamvaka shows that these two fragments are respectively the beginning and end of a very similar formula, and that *πο* must be the first syllable of *πόθου* or *πο(λ)λοῦ*, and *νου* the end of *κτησαμένου*. Further, as the two pieces are of the same material, and are found, but not *in situ*, in buildings only a few yards apart, whilst the measurements of the inscribed band and the style of lettering upon each are identical, it is certain that they are the two ends of what was originally one block. The waving branch pattern shews that the missing middle piece consisted of an odd number of leaves and of a part of the leaf containing the letters *νου*. Leaving out the more crowded leaves at the end with 10–13 letters each, we find that each leaf contains 7–8 letters. There is also room for 3 more letters on the broken leaf. If therefore we restore one complete leaf between the two ends, we may supply not less than 10, probably 11, but quite possibly as many as 16 letters. The words *πό[θου πολ(λ)οῦ κτησαμέ]νου* taken from the Vamvaka inscription give 13 letters and therefore may be proposed as a restoration. The only difficulty is the accent on *νοῦ*. The probable explanation is that as the rest of the leaf, now lost, had *αμε*, the preceding letters of *κτησαμένου*, the accent, generally written very far forward, passed under the hands of a stone-mason to the succeeding syllable, and that he had just enough scholarship to change it from acute to circumflex. In the same way *αυτοὺς* on the stone looks like *αυτοῦς*.

The whole, with the spelling corrected, will run :—

[M]*νή(σθητι)* K(*ύρι*)*ε τοῦ δούλου σου Σαμπατίου υἱοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ* M*ασελῆ ἅμα συ(μ)βίου καὶ τέκνοις αὐτοῦ· τοῦ πό[θου πολ(λ)οῦ κτησαμέ]νου τὸν ἅγιο(ν) ναὸν τοῦτο(ν)· οἱ ψάλ(λ)οντες διὰ τὸ(ν)* Θ(*εὸ*)*ν εὔχεσθε αὐτοὺς νυκτὶ κ(αὶ) ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.*

The confusion of the gen. and dat. in *ἅμα συμβίου καὶ τέκνοις* has already been noticed in connection with the Vamvaka inscription.

The surname Maselás survived until recently at Koutiphari, and the name Sampatios, not used, so far as I know, elsewhere in Greece or at all events very rare, is common in Mani. This Leo is probably the same as the Leo of the Vamvaka inscription, and the Eikonostasis must be part of an earlier church. The present church of H. Sophia, Mr. Traquair remarks, is certainly much later than that at Vamvaka. The last words

mean, 'Ye who sing to God, bless them by night and day.' The με in ἡμέρᾳ is written with a curious ligature, but no other reading is possible.]

The cell plan is not one well adapted for architectural display and required elaboration in churches of any pretensions. The simplest addition is that shown in H. Paraskevè at Platsa (Pls. XIV, XV), where the barrel vault is crossed by a transverse barrel at a higher level, forming internally a slight transept and externally a high cross gable. The church is quite small (7 ft. 6 in. broad by 15 ft. 6 in. long internally) and terminates in a semicircular apse. In the cross gable ends are narrow windows with brick arches, and over the west door are three niches in the form of a gable window with flanking half arches. The west door has a stone arch with a brick dentil architrave. The walls are divided into three horizontal bands by a brick dentil course and a band of brick crosses forming a diamond frieze. The masonry is rough with bricks used irregularly. The vaulting scheme is found in H. Paraskevè and other thirteenth-century churches at Geraki, and is exactly that of the narthex of a two- or four-columned church. This church probably belongs to the thirteenth century.

In the church of H. Elias at Abysola near Koutiphari (Pl. XV) the transverse barrel is narrow, only rises slightly above the main vault, and is surmounted in the centre by a small dome 3 ft. 4 in. across. The church is oblong, measuring 10 ft. 11 in. broad by 13 ft. 9 in. long and terminates in a single large apse, hexagonal outside and flanked inside by two little niches; above the west door is a triple arched window in brick. The masonry is of large cut stones with brick in all the joints and is very much finer than that of the previous examples in this district.

In the same class may be placed the ruined church near H. Theodoros at Prasteion (Fig. 5). Internally it measures 17 ft. long by 12 ft. broad and is divided into three bays by bold pilasters; over the centre bay is a small drum dome. At the east end are three hexagonal apses. The walls are built in the same manner as those of H. Paraskevè at Platsa with a decorated brick frieze of the same pattern, and on the south side is a triple brick niche, similar to that over the door of H. Paraskevè.

The next example, the church of the Dekoulos monastery at Itylo (Pls. XIV, XV), shows the cell type with a central dome. Internally it measures 13 ft. 6 in. broad by 31 ft. long, and terminates in three semicircular apses, of which the centre one is furnished with stone seats behind the altar. The church is divided into three bays by

strong pilasters supporting a wall arcade. The wall arches of the central bay rise to the same height as the nave vault, forming two low gables externally, and on the square thus formed is the dome with a high windowless drum, like the apses circular both inside and outside. The churches of Mani are not remarkable for their lighting, but the Dekoulos church at Itylo is the worst lit of all. There are but two small windows, 6 in. broad by 2ft. high, and a small door at the south-west angle; beyond this nothing. Externally the church is plastered, with roofs of thin stone slabs. The dome has a blind arcade, of which each alternate arch is supported by a plain corbel; those between rest on slender square shafts (Pl. XVII). Internally the painting of the church is perfect, but so dark is it, that it was not possible to make out the subjects fully. The west wall is filled with a representation of the Last Judgement. At the top is the Crucifixion, below it Our Saviour in a glory surrounded by the saints, on His right-hand side, still lower down, are the souls of the virtuous rising in balloon-like circles of cloud, whilst at the left-hand bottom corner the mouth of hell, a gaping monster, is open to receive the damned, whom devils with pitchforks are hurrying into it. Above hell is shown the Resurrection, the earth with open graves, and the sea giving up its dead. Round the church, in the lower part of the wall, is a range of full-length saints, on the left-hand side of the Eikonostasis S. Michael, then Gabriel and others. Above them is a second range of half-length figures, and above that, in the north dome arch, the Ascension of the Virgin, the Death of the Virgin, and scenes from the life of Christ. Over all is Christ in Glory, crowned and holding a scroll, surrounded by saints. In the north-west bay above the two ranges of saints are small martyrdoms and, above them, two large figures of saints. Above the wall arches, but below the springing of the vault, are various scenes from the life of Christ:—the Entombment, the women at the Tomb, the Ascension, Our Lord at the well and healing the blind. On the dome arch of the south wall are martyrdoms, and above them in the tympanum of the arch, the Virgin and Child.

The western bay of the vault is filled with two concentric circular zones (Pl. XIII). In the centre is Christ enthroned, round him a ring of angelic powers, and outside all the signs of the zodiac. The subject is common in the very late (seventeenth century) Byzantine churches and evidently represents Christ as the centre of the universe. With this idea the zodiacal signs are constantly used in church decoration, as at Areopolis

(see below). In the pendentives of the dome are the four Evangelists, in the dome ranges of saints, with the head of Christ in a glory at top. The apse has, above the saints, the Holy Supper and, in the semidome, the Virgin and Child. Round the apse, at the floor level, are two large serpents. The signs of the Zodiac are referred to in the Byzantine Guide in the directions for representing 'The illusive seasons of this life,' but the subject, as represented here, is not given, although in many respects the scheme is that of the Guide.

Above the door is an inscription painted on the plaster:—

[+'Ανηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρον γῆς καὶ ἀνηστορή|θι οὗτος ὁ θεῖος καὶ πάνσεπτος ναὸς τῆς κυ|ρίας Θεοτόκου Ζωοδόχου Πυγῆς· καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡ|μῶν Νικολάου, καὶ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος· | ἐν τοποθεσία Καρίδι· ὃ ὁποῖος ναὸς καὶ ὅλλον | τὸ μοναστήριον ἀνικδομῆθι· διὰ ἐξόδου καὶ συν|δρομῆς, καὶ κόπου· παρὰ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκό|που Κυρίου Δανιὴλ Μαΐνης, καὶ τοῦ αὐταδέλφου αὐτοῦ | προτοσυγγέλου Νικηφόρου, υἱῶν τοῦ ποτὲ Γεωργίου | Ντεκούλου· Μιχελὶ· ἰατροῦ· εἰς βοηθείαν αὐτῶν καὶ ψυ|χηκὴν σωτιρίαν· ἐν ἔτει σωτηρίῳ :. ⁜ ,αψξε' | μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ | διὰ χειρὸς καμοῦ 'Α|ναγνώστου Διμαγγε|λαῖα ἐκ Κου|τύφαρι.

The original, of which I have preserved the spelling, and only divided the words and expanded the abbreviations, is in capital letters of the forms ϢΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΛΜΝΞΟΠΡϹΤΥΦΧΨΩ with ϛ and Ϡ. The last words from *μηνὶ μαρτίῳ* onwards are in minuscules. Only a few common abbreviations are used, and the tachygraphic signs for *-ας* and *-αν*.

The monastery is still inhabited by the descendants of the George Dekoulou Micheli, the Physician of the inscription, and the buildings and land are their family property. According to their family tradition, this George had four sons: two laymen, from one of whom the present owners, John and his son Demetrios, claim descent, and two clerics, the bishop Daniel of Maina and the protosynkellos Nikephoros, recorded by the inscription as the builders of the church and monastery. These two are said to have gone to Constantinople, where the Patriarch gave them permission to found the monastery of the Zoödochos Pege, and gave it the name Dekoulou. This name, which belongs properly to the monastery, the members of the family have since borne in addition to their own original family name Micheli, and in the inscription it is given also to their father George the Physician. From it the monastery is popularly called

τοῦ Ντεκούλου or *τοῦ Ντεκουλιάνου* (*of the man of Dekoulou*) or *τῶν Ντεκουλέων τὸ μοναστήρι* from the form *Ντεκουλέας* with the local termination of family names *-έας*. This story of the founding of the monastery may be taken as substantially true, but there is no reason why the Patriarch should have given it an Italian name, and as a proper name in Italian, Dekoulou is more than improbable. The truth probably is that as the church was dedicated to the *Ζωοδόχος Πηγή*, some one who knew Italian gave the monastery the irreverent nickname of *Ντε Κούλος*, punning on the identity of pronunciation of *Πυγή* and *Πηγή*.

At Koutiphari I was told that the family name Demangeleas (*Δημαγγελέας*) still survives, and also the fame of the painter Anagnostes Demangeleas.]

The date, 1765 A.D., was just five years previous to Orloff's landing at Itylo. Pouqueville says 'When in the month of April 1770 the Russian fleet anchored in the bay of Oetylos, its commanders were received with transports by the bishops of Lacedaemon and of Chariopolis. . . . . The attempt was a complete failure.'

The special glory of the church is, however, the great carved and gilt wood Eikonostasis (Pl. XVIII) surmounted by a floriated cross and eikons. It is of the usual late design and shows a curious mingling of Byzantine Gothic and French Renaissance features. The columns of the lower part are square to the top of the first string-course, 3 ft. 5 in. high; above this they are circular, with high foliated bases and elongated Corinthian capitals. Between them, in the bays not occupied by the doors, are painted eikons, both above and below. The doors have arched infillings with pierced cusps formed by interlacing leaflets; the centre has an ogee point, the sides are semicircular. In the gates to the great door the ogee form is used again for the small arches of the panelling; in the lower panels cusped, in the upper, broken in a very Venetian manner. Above the shafts is a range of cusped segmental arches separated by the brackets which carry the first great cornice. Above this again is a range of eikons and twisted columns which support an arcade with cherubs' heads carved in the tympana. Over this is the upper cornice, a broad carved band crowned with a pierced and interlaced cresting. Every inch is elaborately carved and gilt, with touches of vermilion in the shadows: the motives are mainly classic, leaf and tongue, or egg and tongue bands; and, for the two main cornices, acanthus scrolls mingled with rose, vine, and

other foliage, twisted bosses and grotesque animals. Above all is the great floriated cross flanked by two dragons, from whose mouths rise the side eikons. Here the ornamentation clearly shows the influence of the French Renaissance of Louis XV, which has probably come to this remote monastery through Turkish sources, for the luscious lines of the later French work appealed strongly to the Turk, and to this day the bazars of Constantinople are full of French silverware of this style. Of the same type as the Dekoulos church at Itylo are H. Nikolaos at Langada and H. Basilios at Koutiphari. Both are in very bad repair and unimportant; they probably belong to the same date—the middle of the eighteenth century.

In Upper Mani are only two churches of the two-columned plan, H. Soter at Itylo and H. Joannes at Platsa. Neither is of great importance.

H. Soter at Itylo stands by the side of the winding road which zigzags up the cliff from the harbour to the town. It has no narthex, but in its place an arcaded loggia is thrown across the road, on top of which is the belfry. The masonry is rough, of squared stones with tiles irregularly placed; the dome is octagonal, with little gargoyles and angle shafts, and has an arched cornice.

H. Joannes at Platsa (Pl. XV) is noticeable for its length, 24 ft., in comparison to its breadth of 18 ft. Internally the dome is carried on two columns, one octagonal, the other a classic shaft re-used. There is but one apse which shows five sides of a decagon to the outside; the place of the secondary apses is taken by niches in the eastern wall, which do not show to the outside. The angle compartments are covered by half barrel vaults, a method quite peculiar to this building, and the proportions are unusually lofty. The dome is octagonal externally, with a flat cornice, and all the roofs are tile covered (Pl. XVII). The masonry is of stone with a few bricks, and very poor. This building and the previous one are quite late and probably belong to the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

The church of the Transfiguration (H. Metamorphosis) at Koutiphari (Pl. XV) is an example of the four-columned type with no extra bay to the east. It is a small church, measuring only 13 ft. 9 in. long by 12 ft. 6 in. broad internally, with walls 1 ft. 10 in. thick, and has been a good deal pulled about. The dome is about 4 ft. 6 inches in diameter and is supported on four octagonal piers with square cubical capitals, carved with low flat reliefs on all four sides. The subjects in some cases are the

usual Byzantine motives, in others rude and singular grotesques. The cross with leaves at the angles, peacocks drinking from a bowl or pecking at a conventional vine tree, and interlaced or spiral rosettes are used, but along with them are fighting cocks, a man killing a stag, a cock ploughing

FIG. 6.—A CAPITAL FROM PLATSA.

with two foxes, a man and his dog attacking a bearlike monster (Fig. 6),[1] and a griffin with a rabbit in his mouth. The church otherwise is not of great interest; the Eikonostasis has a carved cornice with a stone central

[1] The photographs are from a similar capital, also from Platsa.

arch, but this seems a later patchwork. The dome is tied with marble beams as in the churches of Lower Mani. The great eastern apse shows three sides of a hexagon to the outside, the two side apses are flat segments of circles.

The eastern end of H. Demetrios (Pls. XV, XVII) a little to the east of Platsa, is apparently the Sanctuary of a church of this type; the remainder has fallen and been replaced by a barrel-vaulted cell. Save that here all three apses are hexagonal outside and that the Eikonostasis has entirely disappeared, it is the same as the church of the Transfiguration, but is a little broader. The piers are octagonal with cubical capitals carved, as in the Metamorphosis, with grotesque subjects. The central apse has a double arched window. The masonry externally is of good brick and stone, carefully built and with a dentil course at about half the height. Inside are the remains of a marble floor with an inlaid border, much damaged. The fine character of the masonry makes an early date probable, and I should assign it to the eleventh century, the one remnant in Upper Mani of the early churches.

There now remain for consideration a number of churches in and around Kardamyle, the northern port of Mani, and with these should be included the eighteenth-century churches at Areopolis and Kouskouni. These churches were all built during the Turkish domination, and show the same admixture of styles that we have already noticed in the Eikonostasis at Itylo. They bear witness to the fact that, in Upper Mani at any rate, the eighteenth century was a time of prosperity and of religious activity. Elsewhere in Greece we find paintings executed in this period, of a higher technique than had been attained in the centuries immediately before, but in no other district do we find complete churches of the eighteenth century, elaborate in detail, fully and carefully finished.

The church of H. Taxiarches (Pl. XV and Fig. 3), at Areopolis, was built by the Mavromichaeli family in 1798 (the date is over the north doorway). In plan it is a cell church similar to the Dekoulos church at Itylo, 16 ft. 8 in. broad by 48 ft. long internally, with wall arches on the sides and a dome set on a cross vault over the centre. The sketch (Fig. 3) shows the manner in which the cross vault is thrown between the spandrils of the nave vault, a scheme midway between H. Elias at Abysola and the Dekoulos church at Itylo. Externally the apse shows five sides of a dodecagon; it has a high

podium, above which is a shallow wall arcade with angle pilasters, from the capitals of which, between the arches, small circular angle shafts spring to the moulded cornice. Round the top of the apse and formed into panels by the angle shafts, is a frieze sculptured with the signs of the Zodiac in crude and bold relief (Fig. 7), with a cherubim head flanked by two suns in the centre bay. The pilaster capitals are carved with large rosettes and leaves, and a rosette and leaf ornament is used on the cornice and string-course. This ornament, indeed, is repeated on every string-course, both internal and external, throughout the building. The windows and doors are square-headed with dressed stone reveals: the two doors north

FIG. 7.—H. TAXIARCHES, AREOPOLIS: THE APSE.

and south are surmounted by carved panels of archangels and saints, evidently selected for their warlike qualities, and above the south door is a hand in blessing and a dove, framed in a trefoil arch (Fig. 8). In the centre of the panel over the north door is a rude coat of arms carried on the breast of a double-headed displayed eagle; the coat is quarterly first per pale (1) barry, (2) some indeterminate bearing, second a lion rampant, (3) bendy within a bordure as first; over all a shield surmounted by a crown.

On a label below is the date 1798, OXT 19, and a little Latin cross.[1] At the south-western corner is a square tower rising in diminishing stories with arched openings on each storey to an octagonal lantern flanked by four rude pinnacles. The church is whitewashed inside and outside.

On the hill to the east of Areopolis, in the village of Kouskouni, is a very rudely built little cell church with a belfry (Fig. 9) which must be of about the same date as H. Taxiarches. In design it is an elaboration of the little bellcotes universal in Mani and, like the towers, is in a series of

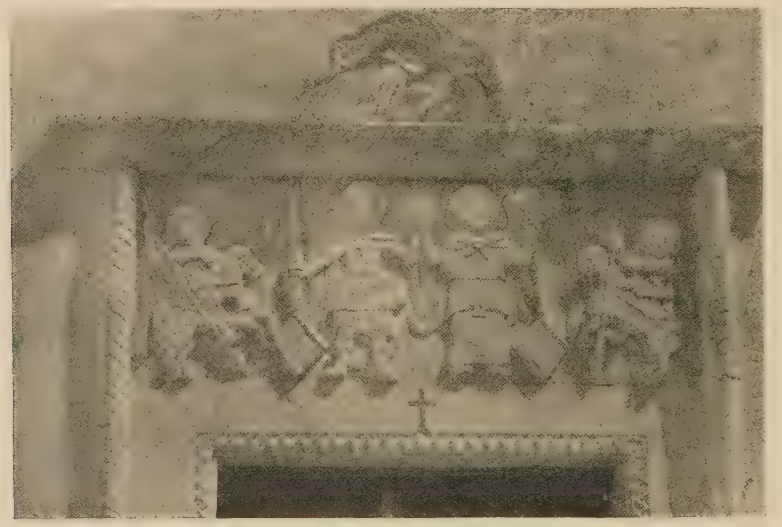


FIG. 8.—H. TAXIARCHES, AREOPOLIS: PANEL OVER THE S. DOOR.

receding stages with a set-back above the string-course at each sill or arch level. The bells are hung in a double-arched opening in the second storey, and from the string-course above this, the gable slopes back in four stages to a cross at the summit. The string-courses are carved with incised wave mouldings, semicircles and circles. The voussoirs of the bell arches have six-pointed stars set in circles, and on the stones on either side are rudely carved birds, angels, pots and rosettes. The mouldings are very simple, but neither here nor in any of these late churches are they distinctively Byzantine. In Areopolis are other buildings, churches and private

[1] After the T of OXT there is an abbreviation mark. The spelling *'Οχτώβριος* reflects the popular pronunciation of *'Οκτώβριος*.

houses, of the same style. These two examples will serve to show its peculiarities.

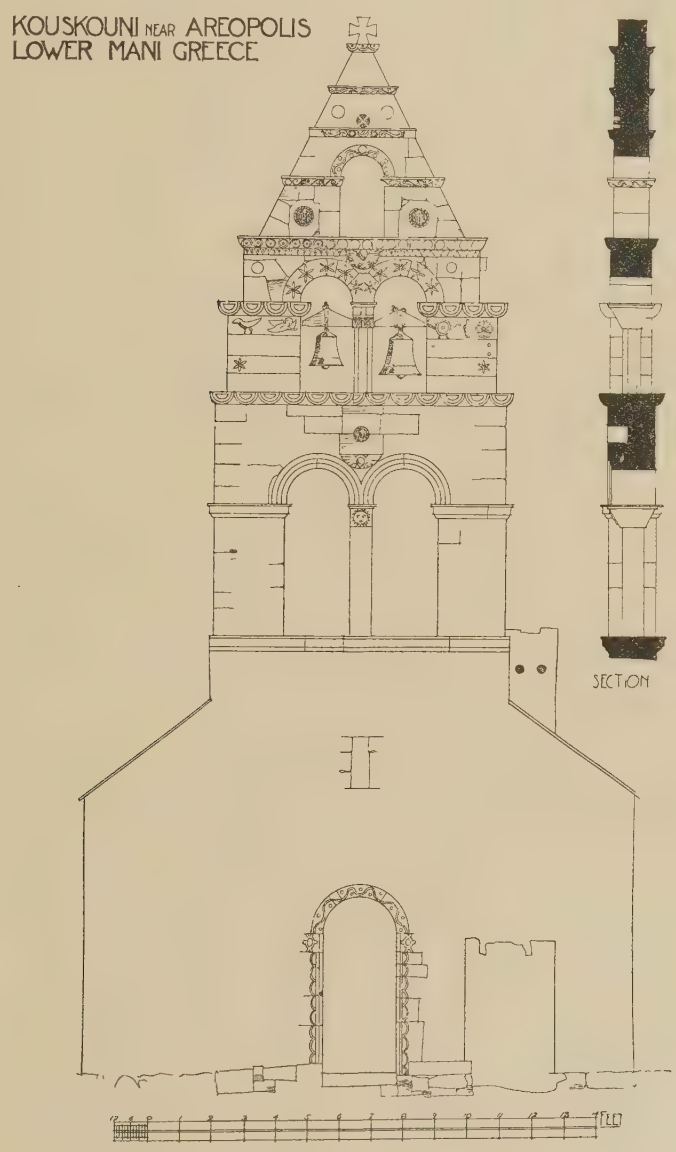


FIG. 9.—BELFRY AT KOUSKOUNI.

Within the ruined walls of the Venetian castle at Kardamyle is a

church (Pl. XII) of about the same size and of the same plan and construction as H. Taxiarches at Areopolis. It is built with large squared blocks of a fine brown limestone quarried in the neighbouring hills. The dome is octagonal outside with round angle shafts and a flat moulded cornice, and is divided into two stages by a bowtell string-course. In the upper stage each face is divided into two panels by a central shaft of the same section as those at the angles. At the south-western angle is a small square bell-tower on a high battered base rising to the height of the moulded wall cornice; above this the tower rises in diminishing stories with arched openings on all four faces, and terminates in a high-pointed roof of stone. The string-courses and voussoirs are elaborately carved with circles and rosettes of the same type as those at Kouskouni, and the conical roof is covered with sunk circles containing six-pointed stars. The door on the south side has pilasters with sunk panels, rude Renaissance impost capitals and a semicircular moulded arch. Above are three niches and a small carved panel of the Holy Roman eagle. The character of the carving is well shown in the photograph of a window beside the door (Pl. XVII); the sill is an old fragment re-used, but the jambs and the stones of the pointed arch are of the same date as the church. In the spandrils are birds pecking at flowers which spring from a chalice and, at the apex, the eagle surmounted by a crown. The carving is delicately worked in white marble.

From Kardamyle the hills rise in great crags split by deep ravines, to Mount Elias. On the westernmost peaks, overlooking the port, stand two churches, of which one, that at Gounitsa, is illustrated (Pl. XVII). It is two-columned in plan, built of the local brown limestone with moulded cornices and without bricks. The dome is twelve-sided and has narrow moulded windows, alternately covered with semicircular arches and with Turkish ogee-arched lintels set in square frames. Above the windows are little circular openings. The roof is in two receding stories with tile roofs; the cornice of the upper stage is moulded and has a little saw-toothed ornament; the three apses are hexagonal to the outside. In the interior is a carved wood Eikonostasis of the Itylo pattern, but very coarse.

On the summit of the neighbouring cliff is a church of the same type, and above Prasteion, some three miles to the south, a third, dedicated to the Death of the Virgin (ἡ Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου). [This church forms part of the buildings of the monastery of S. Theodore, now used as a farm.

The actual church of S. Theodore lies a few yards to the west. In the Eikonostasis of the church of the Koimesis is a portrait (Pl. XIII) of the founder Isaias, with an inscription in the same lettering as the one from Itylo. In the original spelling it runs :—

+ ὁ παρομιόθεῖς Ἡσαΐας μυραίος καὶ πρωτοσύγγελος | τῆς μεγάλης ἐκλησίας | εἰὸς τοῦ ποταῖ δεσπότου Κυ[ρίου Θε]|ὁδοσίου ἐκ χώρας Πρωαστεί[ου] | καὶ κτήτωρ τῆς | ἁγίας μονῆς | ταύτης.

The only abbreviations used are the usual one for καί and the tachygraphic sign for ει in the spelling εἰός for υἱός. For the opening words compare the inscription at Mistra on a portrait of Manuel Palaiologos, ὁ παρόμιος μανου[ὴλ ὁ πα]λαιόλόγος, which also has the same misplaced rough breathing which we have here on παρομοιωθείς and Θεοδοσίου.[1]

Μυραῖος being coupled with πρωτοσύγκελλος is apparently an ecclesiastical title or office, but I cannot find the word.[2] As, however, ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία refers to the church of the Patriarchate at Constantinople, which now replaces St. Sophia, Isaias would seem to have been at one time an official of this church, and as further τὸ ἅγιον μῦρον (the chrism of the Greek church) is consecrated only at the Patriarchate, the title Myraios is probably to be connected with this. The translation will then be : 'The likeness of Isaias, Myraios and Protosynkellos of the Great Church, son of the sometime bishop Lord Theodosios of Proasteion, and founder of this holy monastery.']

The painting is technically far in advance of the usual stiff Byzantine work and represents an elderly man with a red beard and moustache leaning on a pastoral staff, with a book and rosary in his left hand.

[On the pages of the open book is the monastic sentiment, Μακάριος ὁ ἔχων τὴν μακαρίαν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν αγῖαν υπακοὴν ἐος θανάτου, written in capital letters tailing off into minuscules where the space ran short.

A gable-topped stele, evidently from the grave of a yeoman of the Roman period, serves to mark the centre of the floor. Below the pediment are the words ΚΛΕΩΝ ΧΑΕΡΕ, and the field has a carving in low relief of a pruning-hook and what seems to be a stoppered flask hung from a peg by a cord, as if their owner had put them aside.]

The building material of the district is the brown limestone of which the hills are composed. It can be quarried on the surface and is cut

[1] Millet, *B.C.H.* xxiii, p. 21.

[2] See p. 213, below.

from the hills in square blocks, which are built without further dressing into the walls. The entire town of Prasteion is of this material, and this solidity of construction gives it a very different appearance from the usual ramshackle Greek village. In the centre of the town, a church is at present being built on a scale which shows that the building traditions of the country are not yet dead, and at the north-eastern angle stands the tower of the older church (Pl. XVII). This is of the same type as Kardamyle but is much superior to it in dignity and design. There are five stages to the conical roof; the lowest is an open arcade, above this are three stories with double arched openings on each face and a small central window above; the fifth stage has only a single light. At each sill and springing level the tower is set back above a rosetted string-course, the set-backs increasing as the tower rises so as to form a perceptible entasis.

In these buildings we have a natural traditional local style, based on the old Byzantine school and influenced by Italy from the West and by Turkey from the East. The structure and plan are Byzantine; at Kardamyle, however, the excellence of the local stone has banished brick, and with it the Byzantine decorative detail, substituting in its place circular shafts and bowtell mouldings, whilst as a result of the intense Maniote pride in their church bells, which we are told sounded in Mani when silent elsewhere throughout Greece, we find the elaborate bellcote of Kouskouni and the belltowers of Areopolis and Prasteion.

HISTORICAL AND GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The earliest churches of Mani are those in the southern part from Gerolimena to Pyrgos. In this district there are few modern churches and the construction and detail of the old examples point to a period of architectural activity from the tenth to the end of the twelfth century.

We are told that Mani was not converted to Christianity until the reign of Basil the Macedonian,[1] a reign marked both by great missionary activity and by a revival of art and architecture, and no churches need be looked for earlier in date than the ninth century. Vamvaka (1075 A.D.) is the only dated church in the district and with it may be grouped the churches at Kitta and Karouda. These churches have no old Byzantine stones built into their walls, and are therefore probably the first churches.

[1] Finlay, *History of Greece* i, p. 305.

erected on the sites. They have a high external podium of large stones, at Kitta with a decoration of crosses, and fine stone masonry with bricks in both vertical and horizontal joints in the upper part. The door arches are slightly horseshoed, the dome cornices are arched, and the apses hexagonal on the outside, characteristics which would assign them to the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth centuries. Kitta stands out as the finest old church in Mani. The diamond patterning on the exterior and the carved capitals under the dome are exceptionally fine, and the whole church is very accurately and carefully built. The church at Gardenitsa is very similar in technique but is more roughly built; in its walls are fragments of an older church, and in the apse, a few cut brick ornaments of the type associated elsewhere with the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries.

At H. Marina, Pyrgos, H. Nikolaos, Ochia, and H. Petros, Pyrgos, the podium is wanting. The masonry is well built with bricks and these churches belong probably to the twelfth century.

Boularioi is remarkable for the circular form of the apses externally and the flat cornice to the domes. In both these respects it resembles the church of S. John in Trullo at Constantinople, a church not mentioned until late in history, and perhaps of the eleventh or twelfth century. The flat cornice is usual in the larger Greek churches of the thirteenth century (Daphni, Monemvasia). Asomato has also round apses and a flat cornice, but is so exceptional that it is not possible to give it a definite date.

Maina was a town of considerable importance in the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the district seems to have enjoyed some prosperity until the Frankish invasion. This period corresponds to the architectural style of the churches, and we may conclude that after 1248, when William Villehardouin conquered Mani, but little building was done in Lower Mani. In Upper Mani, the eastern end of H. Demetrios at Platsa belongs to the same period.

The characteristics of the early style may be shortly summarised:—

The groined vault is not used, the angle compartments being covered by longitudinal barrel vaults.

The longitudinal barrel vault of the western cross arm is carried across the narthex. The usual method is to carry the west wall up to the vaults, and completely separate the narthex from the church. The Mani narthex and church are under one roof.

In construction wood is almost unknown, and stone lintels and beams

are used in its place. The dome of Asomato is designed to do away with scaffolding and the carved marble tie-rods are substitutes for metal or wood. Almost all the churches have the four beams to the dome and Kitta had additional beams at the capital level.

It seems probable that many of the carved details were imported; they are of a greyish-white marble resembling the Proconnesian. At the same time the typical late Corinthian capital is not found, and the marble tie-beams and the capitals of Kitta are peculiar to Mani and were probably made locally. Such work as the lintel of the west door at Karouda agrees closely with Byzantine work elsewhere and is, almost certainly, imported.

The domed porches of Boularioi and Gardenitsa are an interesting Maniote addition. I do not know of any other examples, though the church at Manolas in Elis has a large domed porch or narthex on three sides of the western cross arm.

In plan two-columned churches predominate;[1] the four-columned plan without the Sanctuary bay is found at Kitta and, in Upper Mani, at H. Demetrios, Platsa, and the Transfiguration, Koutiphari. If Kitta was built in the ninth century, the plan can hardly be a modification of the two- or four-columned type, but all three should be considered as simultaneous developments from the cross plan of the Basilian Renaissance (S. Mary Diaconissa, Constantinople). The Kitta plan seems to be peculiar to Mani. The four-columned plan is used at Keria, Karouda, and H. Marina.

Upper Mani is a much richer country than the land of the Kakovouliotes, and on account of its foreign trade was both more attractive to the conqueror and easier to hold than the rocky district south of Areopolis. Probably owing to this the early churches have been destroyed. The name of Leo on the displaced stone at H. Sophia, Koutiphari, remains to tell us that a man who was probably the son of the founder of Vamvaka in 1075 A.D. was alive also in the northern district, but the east end of H. Demetrios at Platsa is the only fragment left which can be assigned to his time. The other four-columned church, the Transfiguration at Koutiphari, is probably later. The remaining churches are comparatively roughly built and of late date, probably thirteenth or fourteenth century. They show the gradual evolution of the domed cell church, such as Itylo, from the simple barrel-vaulted cell. As intervening forms we have the crossbarrelled cell at

[1] Boularioi, Gardenitsa, Ochia, Kouloumi, Vamvaka, Asomato.

H. Paraskevè, Platsa, and the crossbarrelled cell with a small dome at H. Elias, Abysola. The barrel-vaulted and domed church is one of the typical late forms in Greece; in Constantinople it is not uncommon and occurs in the Bogdan Serai, S. Thekla, and the side church of the Monastery of the Chora, all probably as late as the fourteenth century. The churches of the eighteenth century at Areopolis and Kardamyle are of the same type as H. Elias, Abysola.

The very small size of these thirteenth century churches is remarkable, and this is a further point of resemblance to the Geraki churches. The later churches are all much larger.

The trade in carved marbles would naturally stop with the Latin conquest and we find no imported stones in Upper Mani; the carving is rude but very vigorous, and evidently native to the soil.

During the Venetian domination in the seventeenth century Northern Mani enjoyed some degree of prosperity and had considerable foreign trade. Subsequently Mani became practically independent and was governed by its hereditary chiefs, who were given the title of Bey by the Turks. They seem to have exercised a very limited authority, for the country was rent by small wars and family blood feuds. The latter are still said to exist, and in Lower Mani the people still build mediaeval keeps, but this is now perhaps only a proud tradition. With the eighteenth century begins a building period; the Dekoulos church at Itylo is dated 1765, and from then almost to the present day the Maniotes have developed a local architecture. We meet with many evidences of a great renaissance of church building and painting throughout Greece in the eighteenth century, but nowhere did it produce buildings which can be compared with the churches of Prasteion and Kardamyle.

RAMSAY TRAQUAIR.

NOTE.—Canon F. E. Brightman suggests that the word Μυραῖος may be the ethnic from Myra in Lycia, though the usual form seems to be Μυρεύς. Otherwise he agrees in thinking that 'it is equivalent to a title among the ὀφφίκια of the Great Church—which certainly is the patriarchal church of Constantinople—viz. ὁ μυροδότης, whose function is defined as ἵνα ὑποκρατῇ τὸ ἅγιον Μῦρον (Εὐχολόγιον τὸ μέγα, Venice, 1869, pp. 686, 691), i.e. to hold the ἀγγεῖον containing the chrism of confirmation when the Patriarch administers baptisms in the Great Church.'—[R. M. D.]

THE TRANSLITERATION OF MODERN GREEK.

THE present irregularities and inconsistencies in the transliteration of Modern Greek make it very desirable to draw up some short notes on the subject, in order to arrive at some reasoned system for future use.

In September, 1908, a leaflet was issued to the contributors to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* containing a system of transliteration to be applied to Ancient Greek, and this may conveniently be reprinted here to serve as a starting-point for the present discussion. The part of this leaflet dealing with transliteration was as follows[1]:—

'Contributors to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following system of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language:—

Vowels.

$\alpha = a$: } krater, lekane.
$\left\{\begin{matrix}\epsilon \\ \eta\end{matrix}\right. = e$: }

$\iota = i$: kalpis.

$\left\{\begin{matrix}o \\ \omega\end{matrix}\right. = o$: kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.

$\upsilon = y$ after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix; *u* after another vowel, as boule.

$\alpha\iota = ai$: Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words such as amphorae, when *ae* may be used.

$\epsilon\iota = ei$: Meidias.

$o\iota = oi$: Chalkioikos.

$\upsilon\iota = ui$: Muia.

$\alpha\upsilon = au$: Aulis.

$\epsilon\upsilon = eu$: Eutychos.

$o\upsilon = ou$: Boule.

[1] I have added to the original $\gamma\kappa = nk$, and $\gamma\chi = nch$.

Consonants.

β=b; *γ=g*; *δ=d*; *ζ=z*; *θ=th*; *κ=k*[1]; *λ=l*; *μ=m*; *ν=n*; *ξ=x*; *π=p*; *ρ=r*; *σ, ς=s*; *τ=t*; *φ=ph*; *χ=ch*; *ψ=ps*; *γγ=ng*; [*γκ=nk*; *γχ=nch*;] *ῥ=rh*.

It may be asked why this system should not be applied also to Modern Greek without any further discussion. The answer to this question is to be found in the fact that though the letters taken in this system as equivalents to the Greek letters, represent well enough the pronunciation of Ancient Greek current in England, they are not only very far from representing the pronunciation of Modern Greek, but also represent it less well than other English letters which might be chosen.[2] The English *v*, for example, is a better representative of the Modern Greek *β* than the English *b*, as *β* and *v* have exactly the same pronunciation.

A further difficulty is presented by the fact that the same Greek letter is pronounced in different ways, and these must be indicated by different letters in the transliteration, if the English reader, who is ignorant of Modern Greek, is to get any idea of the actual pronunciation.

The cases are[3] :—

(1) *υ*, which by itself is pronounced *i*, but the combination *ου* as *u*, whilst *αυ* and *ευ* are pronounced *av* and *ev* before voiced, and *af* and *ef* before unvoiced letters.

(2) *β*, *γ* and *δ*, which have the stopped sounds of the English *b*, *g* and *d* only after a nasal, *i.e.* in the combinations *μβ*, *γγ* and *νδ*, but otherwise have the spirantal sounds *v*, *gh* or *y*, and *dh*. For these see below.

[1] *κ* never =*c* except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Constantine, which have become English words.'

[2] I assume throughout that the vowels are to be pronounced as in Italian, and the consonants as usually in English, with the sole exception that *ch* has not the sound of *ch* in *church*, but that of the guttural spirant in the Scotch *loch*, or, for Ancient Greek, of the aspirated velar.

[3] These cases, in which the historical orthography is no longer in agreement with the pronunciation, have been dealt with by the school of Psychari as follows: Αυ and ευ are written *αβ*, *εβ*, or *αφ*, *εφ* as the pronunciation requires, *e.g.* *θησαβρός*, *χορέβω*, *ἀφτός*, *λεφτεριά* (*ἐλευθερία*), and the historical spellings *μβ* and *νδ* are written *μπ* and *ντ*, spellings which, as *π*, *κ* and *τ* after the nasal are always voiced to *b*, *g* and *d*, adequately give the modern pronunciation *mb* and *nd*, although for some reason *γγ* is written *γγ* instead of the logical *γκ*. Examples are *κόμπος* (*κόμβος*), *ἄντρες* (*ἄνδρες*). These adjustments of the historical orthography, however, are at present confined to a single school, and in fixing a system of transliteration only the historical spellings need be considered. If all Greeks spelled like Psychari the difficulties of transliteration would be so much the fewer.

(3) π, κ and τ, which after nasals, *i.e.* in the combinations μπ, γκ and ντ, sound like the English *b*, *g* and *d*, but otherwise are pronounced *p*, *k* and *t*.

These cases, together with the altered pronunciation of the vowels and diphthongs, the disuse of the rough breathing and the replacing of the old circumflex and acute by one kind of accent only, give the differences between the modern and the accepted ancient pronunciation. The modern pronunciation is also made clear in the sound-for-sound system of transliteration given below.

In dealing with Ancient Greek these difficulties do not meet us. They are due to the fact that the orthography of Modern Greek is historical, whilst the pronunciation has changed and developed, and thus the orthographical dress no longer exactly fits the phonetic body of the language. A script which fits its language perfectly, each letter representing one sound and no more, can of course be transliterated letter for letter without further difficulty, except such as may arise from the lack of suitable characters to represent the original ones, and then recourse is made to diacritic marks, as in the transliteration of Sanskrit. Such cases are, however, practically rare, or even, as no script will represent the practically unheeded minutiae of pronunciation, theoretically at least, non-existent. In ancient languages, however, this correspondence of sounds and letters is assumed, and a transliteration easily settled on a letter-for-letter basis, and the only difficulty left is the one inseparable from all systems of transliteration into an orthography so inconsistent as the English, namely, that rules must be laid down for the uniform pronunciation of the transliterated letters.

These considerations lead us to examine two rival systems of transliteration for Modern Greek—the letter-for-letter system, for which the system given above for Ancient Greek might well be used, and a sound-for-sound system, which would aim at preserving the sounds of Modern Greek for the English reader.

Before discussing the respective advantages offered by these systems, it will be well to see what the adoption of a sound-for-sound system involves, and this especially as general adoption is likely to follow practical convenience rather than theoretical merit. Modern Greek, then, is more amenable to a sound-for-sound system than most languages, because it has only three sounds which there is any difficulty in conveying approximately

to the English reader.[1] These are the sounds of χ, δ and γ. Of these, χ has the guttural sound of the German *ch*, which is so familiar that it need only be noticed. Δ, except after ν, is pronounced like the English soft *th* (the *th* in *that*, not the *th* in *thin*). Here we have the sound in English, but no unambiguous representation of it, and we must plainly resort to a new convention to render it. The third case is the analogous pronunciation of γ as a voiced guttural spirant before *a*, *o* and *u*, *i.e.* *a*, *o*(ω) and *ov*. Here we have a sound which does not exist in English, and again a conventional representation must be devised, as for the sound of δ (*th* being plainly to be reserved for θ). *Dh* and *gh* are the obvious representatives of these pronunciations of δ and γ; first, because they are already commonly used in philological books for this purpose, and secondly because the analogy of *t*, *p* and *th*, *ph* for the respective spirants, demands *dh* and *gh* for the spirants corresponding to the stopped sounds of *d* and *g*.

The simplest sound-for-sound transliteration will therefore be:—

a = *a*.

β = *v*, but μβ = *mb*: *Varvára* (Βαρβάρα), *Túmba* (Τούμβα). See also under δ.

γ = *gh* before *a*, *o*, *u*: *Maghúla* (Μαγούλα).
= *y* before *e* and *i*: *A'yios Yeóryios* (Ἅγιος Γεώργιος); and

γγ = *ng*: *Agathángelos* (Ἀγαθάγγελος) and γχ = *nkh*, though in the common pronunciation the γ is omitted, and γκ = *ng*.

δ = *dh*, but νδ = *nd*: *Livadhiá* (Λιβαδεία), Andréas (Ἀνδρέας). In the learned pronunciation νδ is pronounced *ndh*, as also μβ *mv*, but the popular pronunciations *nd* and *mb* are the more important, especially for topographical purposes.

ε = *e*.

ζ = *z*.

η = *i*.

θ = *th*.

ι = *i*.

κ = *k*, but γκ = *ng*: *Langádha* (Λαγκάδα).

λ = *l*.

μ = *m*.

ν = *n*.

[1] I leave out of account the difference in the pronunciation of κ, *g* (γγ, γκ) and χ before *a*, *o*, *u* on the one hand and before *i*, *e* on the other. The latter is by no means easy for the Englishman.

ξ = *x*.

ο = *o*.

π = *p*, but μπ = *mb*: *Xerókambo* (Ξερόκαμπο).

ρ = *r* and ρρ = *rr*, not *rrh*. Initial ρ = *r*, not *rh*.

ς = *s*.

τ = *t*, but ντ = *nd*: *Sidherúnda* (Σιδεροῦντα).

υ = *i*. The use of *y* for γ before *i* and *e* bars its use here, nor should two letters (*i* and *y*) be used for the identical sounds of ι and υ. For αυ, ευ and ου see below.

φ = *ph*.

χ = *kh*. The relation of κ (*k*) to χ makes *kh* more suitable than *ch*.

ψ = *ps*.

ω = *o*.

αι = *e*.

ου = *u*.

ει, οι, υι = *i*.

αυ, ευ = *af* and *ef* before unvoiced consonants (θ, κ(ξ, ψ), π, ς, τ, φ, χ), and *av*, *ev* before vowels and voiced consonants: *Evangelístria* (Εὐαγγελίστρια), *Avghónima* (Αὐγόνυμα), *Efstrátios* (Εὐστράτιος).

The rough breathing to be omitted.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated, at all events the first time that a word occurs.

It may be observed that *kh* is a more consistent rendering of χ than *ch*, although the latter is recommended in the leaflet already issued for Ancient Greek. The point does not seem to me to be of much importance. It might also be objected that as the spirants corresponding to *d*, *t*, *g*, *k*, and *p* are represented by *dh*, *th*, *gh*, *kh* and *ph*, so *bh* would be more suitable than *v* to represent the spirant corresponding to *b*, and the use of *bh* for this purpose in Celtic might be pleaded. Here theory must, I think, give way to practical convenience, and the series of concessions advocated at the end of this paper will make this seem a very small one.

The objections to this sound-for-sound system, which has been used to some extent in recent numbers of the *Annual*, are in the main two.

(1) That *dh* and *gh* mean nothing to the English reader. To this it may be said that the ordinary reader, without any special philological knowledge, is likely to suppose that they represent sounds allied to *d* and *g* but

not exactly *d* and *g*, and that he is thus in a better condition than if he were falsely led to suppose, by the use of *d* and *g* for δ and γ, that these adequately represent the modern pronunciation of the letters in question. Still, the very formulation of the difficulty proves its existence, and such facts must be recognized.

(2) That such a system obscures the meaning of words, and makes it difficult for the classical reader to recognize ancient words, with which under the letter-for-letter system he would be perfectly familiar. The meaning of the proper names and place-names, the common subjects of transliteration, is so important that this is a very real objection, and it may well be felt that, for instance, Ἡ Μονὴ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παύλου is too thickly disguised in the form *I Moní tu Ayíu Pávlu*, Ἅγιος Γεώργιος as *A'yios Yeóryios* and Ἁγία Τριάδα as *Ayía Triádha*.

This latter objection would be answered to some extent by following Leake's practice, whose sound-for-sound system is examined below, of printing the original Greek in brackets after the transliteration, when it occurs for the first time, but even so I am aware that the un-Greek appearance given to the words is felt very strongly, and together with the difficulty about *gh* and *dh* may, in the eyes of many English readers, turn the scale in favour of a letter-for-letter system of transliteration. It may also be urged that the precise modern pronunciation does not affect anyone outside Greece, and that those in Greece will know enough of the spoken language to supply that which the transliteration ignores.

The sound-for-sound principle, however, has good English authority behind it. A system almost identical with the one just given was used by Leake, and his contribution to the subject is worth recording here.[1] The representation of the vowels and diphthongs is the same: αι and ε alike by *e*; η, ι, ει, οι, and υι, all by *i*; ου by *u*, and the υ in αυ and ευ by *v* or *f*. He transliterates β by *v*, δ by *dh* and γ by *gh* before *i* and *e*, where it has the sound of the English *y*, but elsewhere by *g*. Similarly he renders γκ, μπ, and ντ by *ng*, *mb*, and *nd*. The cases of γγ, μβ, and νδ he does not mention, nor do I find examples. For χ he writes *kh* and for κ always *k*. The rough breathing is omitted and the accent is marked, always by the acute. Leake's system therefore entirely follows the sound-for-sound

[1] Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, i. pp. ix.–xi. Examples of his spellings are: *Akladhókambo* (Ἀκλαδόκαμπο), *Pende Pigádhia* (Πέντε Πηγάδια), *Éghina* (Αἴγινα), *Léftro* (Λεῦ(κ)τρο), *Ston Gámbo* (Ἀ τὸν Κάμπο).

principle, and is also in detail exactly like the one above, except that for γ he writes *g* before *a*, *o*, and *u*, expressly, however, recognizing its inadequacy, and *gh* before *i* and *e*. This latter practice, with a sound so adequately represented by the English *y*, is more artificial in its laudable attempt to shew that it is historically the same letter γ, though differently pronounced before different vowels, than anything which I have suggested.

The sound-for-sound principle is therefore no novelty in English, and, whilst Leake's writings prove its feasibility, the fact that my system and Leake's, with which I was not acquainted until my own had been drawn up, are so nearly identical, vouches for the convenience of choosing this particular set of equivalents for its practical development.

The practice in foreign books leans towards a compromise, though I can find no authoritative system. The system used, for example, in the map to Hiller von Gaertringen's publication of the excavations in Thera renders β by *w*, αυ by *aw* or *av*, ευ by *ew* or *ev*, μπ by *mb* and γι by *ji*, thus going far towards a sound-for-sound system, whilst the letter-for-letter principle appears in *d* for δ and *g* for γ.

Summing up, we find in favour of the sound-for-sound principle :—

(1) Its accurate rendering of the true modern pronunciation.

(2) The authority of Leake, which shews that it is no novelty in English.

(3) Its practicability, as proved by its use in Leake's works.

(4) The concessions made towards it in such systems as the German one described above, which shew that the letter-for-letter principle cannot be carried out consistently, whilst the sound-for-sound one can.

(5) The fact that it can be carried out consistently.

On the other hand, the following points are in favour of the letter-for-letter principle :—

(1) Its resemblance to the system in use for Ancient Greek, and the consequently more Greek appearance of the words.

(2) Its freedom from the use of un-English symbols *dh* and *gh*.

(3) The fact that, with some concessions to the opposite principle, most transliterations are based upon it.

(4) The relative unimportance of the false idea which it gives of the pronunciation of Modern Greek.

Taking into consideration all these points, I would suggest a system based upon the letter-for-letter principle, but with certain concessions.

Such compromises are never very satisfactory, but those that are generally made, being based apparently upon practice rather than upon theory, seem likely to command general assent, and certain clear phenomena of the modern language, such as the sound of β as *v*, can hardly be passed over in any system. In choosing the compromises to be made with the sound-for-sound principle, I have therefore taken only those which I have found most commonly used, and which are therefore presumably felt most necessary. This brings us to the same system as that already recommended for Ancient Greek, with the following exceptions :—

V to be used for β.

Av or *af* to be used for αυ and *ev* or *ef* for ευ, according as the following letter is voiced or unvoiced. It is not necessary that the writer should be acquainted with this distinction ; he will necessarily have some knowledge of Modern Greek, and this will prevent the possibility of any mistake.

For η use *i* to mark its identity in sound with ι and its difference from ε.

For χ use *ch* rather than *kh* in order to avoid a discrepancy with the system already authorized for ancient Greek.

Suggested System of Transliteration from Modern Greek.

α = *a*.	ρ = *r* ; ρρ = *rrh* ; ῥ = *rh*.
β = *v*.	ς = *s*.
γ = *g*, but γγ, γκ, and γχ as *ng*, *nk*, and *nch*.	τ = *t*.
	υ = *y*. For αυ, ευ, ου see below.
δ = *d*.	φ = *ph*.
ε = *e*.	χ = *ch*.
ζ = *z*.	ψ = *ps*.
η = *i*.	ω = *o*.
θ = *th*.	αι = *ai*.
ι = *i*.	ει = *ei*.
κ = *k*.	οι = *oi*.
λ = *l*.	υι = *ui*.
μ = *m*.	ου = *ou*.
ν = *n*.	αυ and ευ = *af* and *ef* before unvoiced consonants (θ, κ (ξ, ψ), π, ς, τ, φ, χ), and *av*, *ev* before vowels and voiced consonants.
ξ = *x*.	
ο = *o*.	
π = *p*.	

The rough breathing to be written *h*.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated, at all events the first time a word occurs.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters in brackets, and conversely, the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

This special system should only be used for names which are exclusively modern. Ancient names, which are in use also in the modern language, should be transliterated according to the system for Ancient Greek, so as to preserve their familiar appearance to the classical reader. Thus Εὔβοια should be transliterated *Euboia*, not *Évvoia*, and Ἐπίδαυρος *Epidauros*, not *Epídavros*.

In this paper I have tried to expose clearly the two different principles of transliteration, letter-for-letter or sound-for-sound, which may be adopted, and the consequences involved in logically following them out, and to shew that neither can conveniently be carried through fully. The letter-for-letter principle has been chosen as on the whole presenting fewer difficulties, and as few as possible concessions, and these clearly defined, have been made to the sound-for-sound system. It may be said that the latter gives more truly the spirit of the Greek, and the letter-for-letter no more than the dead bones, but when a language is so closely bound up with its literary past as Modern Greek, this permanent literary element cannot be neglected, and I believe that I have chosen the right principle upon which to work. I would therefore ask that this attempt should be criticized as a letter-for-letter system, and any weakness in this respect I should regard as more grave than a failure to give the true pronunciation, a task which is definitely disclaimed except in the most rudimentary way.

R. M. DAWKINS.

NOTE.—The letter-for-letter system as set forth in this paper has been adopted by the British School at Athens for the use of contributors to the School *Annual*, with the one exception that η is to be transliterated by *e* and not by *i*.

ALBANIAN SETTLEMENTS IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS.

An investigation of the very scattered literature of the Greek islands, designed primarily to supplement Mr. Dawkins's researches on the dialects, has led me to unexpectedly interesting results touching the Albanian settlements, which may be worthy of independent publication.

Besides printed sources I have consulted the *Grand Insulaire* of André Thevet (Paris, Bibl. Nat. *MSS. Fr.* 15, 453 (1586))[1] and the *Isolarii* of Antonio di Milo (B.M. (a) *Julius*, E. II (1587), (b) *Add. MSS.* 10,365. (1591)), and Francesco Lupazolo of Chios (B.M. *Lansd.* 792 (1638)).

The stages by which the Albanians penetrated into Greece are well known. They appear in force in Thessaly about 1350,[2] and shortly after in the north-west provinces of Aetolia and Acarnania.[3] Their soldierly qualities were at once recognized: they served as mercenaries under the despots of the Morea,[4] and were invited to settle in Attica by the Catalans,[5] and in Euboea by the Venetians.[6] Ten thousand of them, finally, migrating evidently under pressure of the Turks further north, were admitted into the Peloponnese by Theodore I. Palaeologus, and by him settled on waste and upland sites. To the end of the Byzantine dominion they were an important military asset, and at the present day form a considerable element in the population of Arcadia and Argolis.

[1] The author travelled in the Levant 1549–54, publishing some of his material in his *Cosmographie du Levant* (1554) and *Cosmographie Universelle* (1575). Though his information must be used with caution, he travelled widely in Greek lands and collected much fresh material.

[2] Miller, *Latins in Levant*, 247. [3] *Ibid.* 293. [4] *Ibid.* 283. [5] *Ibid.* 317 (1381).

[6] *Ibid.* 366 (early xv. c.). B. Randolph (1687) says that the Christian population of Euboea was in his day almost entirely Albanian, the Greeks having fled in 1471.

The Aegean islands in which Albanian settlements are recorded fall into three groups: (1) of the islands of the Saronic Gulf, Hydra, Spetsa, Poros (Kalauria), Koulouri (Salamis); (2) of the Cyclades, Andros, Nios (Ios), Thermia (Kythnos), and Zea (Ceos), and of the N. Sporades, Skopelos; (3) of the Asiatic islands, Samos, Psara, Kasos.

Hydra is fortunate in having a local historian, who bears the famous name of Miaoulis[1]: the family records of the island seem to have been carefully kept, and if we may rely on them we can form some idea when and how the island was colonized. The first settlers, whose names are recorded, came in 1580[2] from Troezene. Other immigrants at different periods in the seventeenth century hailed from various parts of the Morea, Euboea, Parga, Suli, Avlona, and Kythnos: all these may have been Albanian. We hear further of a non-Albanian or at least doubtful element from Vourla (in Asia Minor) and Tenos. Towards the close of this century the population was assessed at 1,000.[3] In the eighteenth the disturbed state of the mainland, especially the reconquest of the Morea by the Turks and the effects of Orloff's expedition, augmented the numbers of the inhabitants by successive relays of refugees, but the Albanian element remained predominant. Then followed the growth of the Hydriote carrying-trade, and the consequent prosperity brought the population to the astounding total of 22,000.[4]

The sister-island of Spetsa evidently had a similar history, though no details have come down to us. We know only that it was already inhabited in 1550,[5] and that the population was assessed at 1,000 in 1670,[6] and rose during the period of prosperity to 21,000.[7]

As to Poros and Koulouri we have no more than a bare mention of their Albanian population at the end of the seventeenth century.[8]

The Albanians of Andros occupy the northern deme of Gavreion and

[1] Ἱστορία τῆς Ὕδρας (1874).

[2] The colonization of Hydra, however, began at an earlier date, at latest 1550, since Thevet (f. 169) represents the island as inhabited in his day. Local tradition then affirmed that an older population had fled to the mainland in the reign of the despot Constantine Palaeologus, to escape the pirates.

[3] De Fleury in Rycaut, *Gk. Church*, p. 365. [4] Pouqueville, v. 303.

[5] Thevet, f. 99 v. [6] De Fleury, *loc. cit.*

[7] Pouqueville, v. 307. These tremendous figures seem hardly credible considering that the present population of Hydra is assessed at 7,172, of Spetsa at 4,492.

[8] Wheler, 424, Dapper, 284, Pouqueville, vi. 307 (Poros); Dapper, 283 (Koulouri).

form a third of the total population of the island. They retain their language, and their villages (Arna, Amolochos, and Gavreion) are distinguished from the Greek by their lofty sites and widely-spaced houses. The dialect of Albanian spoken in Andros is said to resemble that of Poros, but the villagers themselves say they come from Karystos in Euboea.[1] The date of the colony is said to be subsequent to the Turkish conquest,[2] which is both in itself probable and borne out by such records as we have. Arna and Amolochos (Gavreion is a modern settlement of 1821) are mentioned first by Lupazolo, and Braconnier (writing in 1701) says that Albanians were called in to cultivate Andros 'about a hundred years ago.'[3]

Nios is said to have been settled with Albanians from the Morea by Marco Crispo (c. 1418).[4] Whether this be true or no, the Albanians who were recognizable in Sauger's time had nothing to do with this colony, since the island was absolutely depopulated in 1558 by fourteen Barbary galliots, and remained desert till 1575, after which it was repopulated by Albanians:[5] they numbered about 200 persons in 1638.[6] We gather from Sauger that their language survived till the latter part of the seventeenth century; it is now extinct.

Thermia (Kythnos) was, according to Antonio di Milo, for many years deserted and in his own time settled by Albanians.[7] Thévenot's statement that Albanians had seized the Latin bishop's property in Thermia rests on the authority of Lupazolo.[8] Towards the end of the seventeenth century Sauger speaks of the population of both Thermia and

[1] Miliarakis, Ἄνδρος, 40, 81, 133; Sauger, *Hist. des Ducs*, 339, says they are from the Morea.

[2] Tournefort (Amst. 1718), 134.

[3] In Aimé-Martin, *Lettres Édir. et Curieuses*, i. 67; Bordone (1528, xli.) speaks of the island as *quasi deserta*.

[4] Sauger, 215, from whom Tournefort, 95; cf. Pasch, 33.

[5] Ant. di Milo, (b) f. 84 (cf. (a) f. 48): 'fu disabitata l'ano 1558 da 14 galiotti qual porto via tute le anime da quel tempo fino la guera pasata si e stata disabitata.'

[6] Lupazolo, f. 74: 'e poco tempo che e stata habitata d'Albanesi il numero di 200 anime incirca'; cf. Thévenot, i. 333.

[7] (b) f. 68 v.: 'molto tempo disabitata ma ora da pouera giente si e abitata sono andati ad abitare molti Albanesi'; (a) has 'al presente da Albanesi abittatta.' Thevet (*Cosmog. Univ.* i. 235) says that all the males of Tnermia were massacred by the Turks 'about fifty years ago,' but that it was now repeopled by neighbouring Greeks.

[8] f. 72; cf. Thévenot, i. 345.

Zea as for the most part Albanian.[1] For the Albanian population of Skopelos Antonio di Milo is our only authority.[2]

Of the Turkish islands Samos and Psara received their share of Albanian settlers: both had been possessions of the Giustiniani of Chios, who in the latter half of the fifteenth century, finding that their subjects were much vexed by corsairs and being unable to protect them otherwise, deported the populations to Chios. Authorities are fairly agreed that Samos and Psara were deserted for a hundred years. Jerome Justinian speaks of their repopulation after the fall of Chios (1566) by 'une nouvelle nation estrangère.'[3] This is explained easily enough in Samos by the existence of two villages (Arvanitochori and Leka) of acknowledged Albanian origin,[4] which probably date from the settlement of Samos by Kilidj Ali[6] and still spoke Albanian at the end of the seventeenth century.[5] The inhabitants are said to have come from the Peloponnese.[7]

In the case of Psara, the local historian; Nikodemos, writing in 1862, says that he had it from the oldest inhabitants of the island that the Albanian language was never spoken there.[8] But Pouqueville, who visited the island in 1799 and as former consul at Jannina should certainly have recognized Albanians, describes the Psarians as such.[9] Nikodemos, however, dates the repopulation of the island (by Euboeans, Thessalians, and Western Epirotes) about 1650, which is manifestly erroneous, since Thevet

[1] p. 353. In the case of Zea this is backed by a curious folk-tradition collected by Thevet to the effect that the towers in the island were built by the Albanian national hero Scanderbeg (*Insulaire*, f. 174: 'George Castriot dit Scanderbeg ayant renoncé à la foy du faux prophète se saisit de plusieurs Isles de l'Archipelague faisant la guerre au Prince Amurath et à son fils Mahemet second du Nom. Estant en possession paisible de l'isle de Zea y fit faire plusieurs forts pour tenir en bride ses ennemis').

[2] (a) f. 41; cf. Braconnier (1706) in Aimé-Martin, *Lettres Édif. et Curieuses*, i. 81: 'On dit que cette île se trouvant déserte il y a deux cents ans le chef de cuisine du Grand Seigneur, ou, selon d'autres, le chef des boulangers de Constantinople, l'obtint du prince en faisant venir des Grecs des environs.' The island was one of those ruined by Barbarossa in 1537–8.

[3] *Histoire de Chio* (1606), 166. The settlement of Samos (1562) is slightly earlier than the fall of Chios.

[4] Stamatiades, **Σαμιακά**, ii. 8.

[5] They are mentioned already in Georgirenes' *Present State of Samos*; cf. also Aimé-Martin, *Lettres Édif. et Curieuses*, i. 40, where they are said to be a hundred years old in 1714.

[6] Georgirenes, *op. cit.*; it is now, I am told, extinct.

[7] Kretikides, **Τοπογρ. τῆς Σάμου**, 104, but many of this author's statements seem to be mere guesses.

[8] **Ὑπόμνημα τῆς νήσου Ψαρῶν**, p. 86.

[9] iii. 212; vi. 308 (copied by Lacroix, 293, and Cuinet, 447); cf. Pococke's remarks on Psarian costume (ii. 2. 13); Lupazolo also notes their use of raw-hide sandals.

speaks of a village of 6–700 houses already a century earlier.[1] This again coincides with Antonio di Milo, who says the island was inhabited 'since the war.'[2] Finally Lupazolo describes the inhabitants definitely as 'gente detti Arvanites, cioè Albanesi di rito Greco.'[3]

In Kasos there is a village called Arvanitochori, said to have been founded in recent times by a pirate from Skyros, but the language was no longer spoken when Ross visited the island.[4]

Other settlements strictly outside the Aegean area, may here be noted for the sake of completeness as existing in the Marmara Islands,[5] on the south shore of the sea of Marmara,[6] in Kalolimno (Besbicus),[7] in Bithynia,[8] and in Cyprus—the latter apparently a Byzantine (not Frankish) military colony.[9]

The general conclusions to be drawn from the above data are thus: (*a*) that the Albanian settlements in the islands date for the most part from the latter half of the sixteenth century; (*b*) that these settlements were not as is generally held, an overflow of population fleeing from the Turks, but part of a general scheme of colonization pursued by the Turkish government in this century. This scheme of colonization is mentioned definitely by St. Blancard, who says (speaking in 1538 of the country round the Granicus) 'le grand seigneur y a mis et faict venir d'Esclavons, Albanois, et Serviens, quand les eust conquestes; il faict ainsy en plusieurs contrées pour mémoire de ses victoires et pour mesler les langues.'[10] Similarly Georgirenes says that the Albanians 'have many colonies in the Empire, being encouraged with special privileges and immunities from the Grand Signior, yet they lose not their language.'[11]

What the privileges and immunities were, we may infer from the charter granted by Suleiman the Magnificent to Kilidj Ali for Samos, of

[1] *Insulaire*, f. 162. [2] (b) f. 80. [3] f. 65 v.

[4] *Gr. Inseln*, iii. 36 (cf. Lacroix, 199, copied by Cuinet, 399, but he is not supported by Pouqueville). It is significant that Kasos possessed a firman of Suleiman the Magnificent, an energetic coloniser (B. Randolph, *Archipelago*, 30). Ross also hints at Albanian colonization in Astypalaea (ii. 59), not in itself improbable, as it was one of the islands sacked by Barbarossa.

[5] *J.H.S.* xxix. 9, 10 (Marmara; the colonization can be put back to 1550 on the authority of the *Grand Insulaire*); 16 (Halone); 17 (Koutali).

[6] The villages of Musatcha and Hautcha on the Aesepus, certainly earlier than 1670, the date on a church.

[7] *B.S.A.* xiii. 304. [8] Kleonymos, Βιθυνικά, pp. 93, 155.

[9] Cobham, *Excerpt. Cypr.* 167 (Porcacchi); Hackett, *Ch. in Cyprus*, 73. Thevet, *Cosmog. Univ.* i. 202, says they still shaved the front of their heads, leaving their hair long behind.

[10] Charrière, *Négotiations de la France*, i. 374. [11] *Present State of Samos* (1678), p. 16.

which the chief articles were that every settler might take up what land he desired, and be free from all imposts for seven years, that no Turk should settle in the island, and that the internal administration should be in Christian hands.[1]

From the government point of view this colonization was expedient, since waste land was brought under cultivation and the treasury eventually enriched thereby; further, islands with good ports, if left untenanted, became inevitably the haunts of pirates.[2] Albanians were doubtless preferred as settlers for their hardiness and spirit, while on the other hand their still semi-nomadic state rendered them willing emigrants.

The Albanian element in the population of the islands, never a large proportion, tends always to become absorbed in the Greek, owing first to community of religion with the Greeks, which promotes intermarriage, and secondly to the constant intercommunication of the islands and the predominance over the whole area of the Greek language, which slowly but surely stamps out the Albanian: in the important and solid Albanian colonies of Hydra and Spetsa the traditions of the Revolution add to these forces a strong Greek national feeling.[3] The information I have collected cannot therefore pretend to be complete: it is probable that other islands have also contained an Albanian element, of which later travellers may find traces in language and custom. But, considering the date of the Albanian migrations and the progress of Hellenization since, it seems unlikely that important additions will be made to the present summary.

F. W. HASLUCK.

[1] Stamatiades, **Σαμιακά**, ii. 7. The original *firman* disappeared like so many others in the 'reform' period.

[2] In this connection it is interesting to note that a strict look-out for suspicious vessels was an enforced duty of the Samians (Georgirenes, 6), and doubtless of other privileged islanders.

[3] Quite characteristic is the reply I received from an old woman of Spetsa on asking whether the language was still spoken in the island: '*τὰ 'ξεύρομεν, μὰ δὲν εἶναι καλά, εἶναι ἄσχημα!*'

THE QUOTA-LIST OF THE YEAR 427–6 B.C.

NOT the least interesting of Professor A. Wilhelm's new discoveries in connection with the well-known Attic Quota-lists published in his recent brilliant paper,[1] is that of a small fragment identified by him as belonging to *I.G.* i. 266, which solves finally the much-vexed question of the restoration of one of the rubrics or headings in that inscription. The stone in question, which is complete on the right-hand side alone, contains in ll. 9, 10 the following letters :

βολὲ καὶ h*οι πεντακόσιο*[*ι*]
α]*χσαν* (*vacat*)

The restoration given by Kirchhoff in the *Corpus* is (transliterating letter for letter from the stone) :

[Πόλες hὰς hε] *βολὲ καὶ* h*οι πεντακόσιο*[*ι*]
[- - - *ἔτα*]*χσαν.*

Köhler[2] suggested h*οι ἑλιασταί* or h*οι δικασταί* to fill the gap, but, as Professor Wilhelm justly observes,[3] this is grammatically incorrect : *τάττειν πόλιν* in the sense of 'to assess (a city) for tribute' is not Greek ; one would expect *φόρον πόλει τάττειν.* And the formula *πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι* shows that the real object of *τάττειν* or *τάττεσθαι,* if expressed, is *φόρον* and not *πόλιν.*

But the following fragment, found by himself in the Epigraphical Museum, enables him to restore the original reading, beyond all doubt. It contains in all only fifteen letters, but these are of the greatest importance.

[1] '*Urkunden des attischen Reiches,*' in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften,* Wien [April 28th, 1909], pp. 41 foll.

[2] *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes,* p. 82.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 42 : 'Aber *πόλιν τάττειν* im Sinne der "Einschätzung" einer Stadt ist ein Sprachfehler' . . .

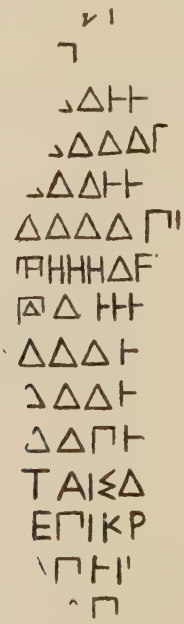
ΤΑΙΣΔΕΗ
ΚΑΙΧ!!
ΓΗ

This, when placed to the left of the lines quoted above, gives us this notable result, with a *lacuna* of only one letter in the first line:

Τα*ῖσδε* h[*ε*] *βολὲ καὶ* h*οι πεντακόσιο*[*ι*]
καὶ χί[*λιοι ἔτα*]*χσαν.*

The figures in the third line are the remains of the sum [Ⅲ]Η - - (600+) paid by the first of the cities assessed by these authorities.

I will not stop to discuss the questions arising from the information thus obtained, that certain cities were in this year assessed by the *βουλή* and an assembly of 1500, and not of 500, as supposed in view of the previous restorations of this passage, but pass on to the immediate subject of this paper, namely the publication of another fragment of the same inscription. This is a splinter of Pentelic marble (height ·25; maximum breadth ·07), broken on all sides and at the back, which I had noticed some time before in the Epigraphical Museum as probably belonging to some Quota-list.



The reading in l. 1 except for the letter ⊢ is uncertain: ll. 2–11 and

14–15 contain figures to which I shall return shortly: but ll. 12–13 give us the following letters:

ταῖσδ[ε - -
ἐπὶ Κρ[- - - ,

which naturally suggest, in the light of Professor Wilhelm's new fragment, some such restoration as *ταῖσδ[ε ἔταχσαν* h*οι* - -] *ἐπὶ* Κρ - - ; and the obvious place for them to belong is opposite to ll. 4 and 5 of *I.G.* i. 266. The style of the cutting and the size and interspace of the letters leave no room for doubt that this is where my fragment originally belonged. Putting the two together we obtain the following reading:

ταῖσδ[ε ἔτ]αχσαν h*οι τάκται*
ἐπὶ Κρ[. . .]*ο γραμματεύοντος.*

The name of the *γραμματεύς* must remain uncertain, but the choice is limited to Κρ[*ανά*]*ο* or Κρ[*ιτί*]*ο*, of which the latter seems more likely whether in this case we should suppose the nominative to have been Κ*ρίτιος* or Κ*ριτίας* there are no means of deciding.

The full text of the stone together with its two new fragments reads thus:

. . λ[ε] - - - - - -
Δ]Γ - -
? Δ]ΔΔ⊢⊢ - -
? [Δ]ΔΔΔΓ[⊢ - -
5 Δ]ΔΔ⊢⊢ - -
ΔΔΔΔΓ⊢ - - -
[Η]ΗΗΗΔΡ- - - -
[Δ]Δ⊢⊢⊢ - -
ΔΔΔ⊢[⊢⊢II M]*αδύτιοι*
10 ΔΔΔ⊢ - [Δ]*αρδανῆς*
ΔΔΓ⊢ [Ἀ]*λοποκοννέσιοι*
ταῖσδ[ε ἔτ]αχσαν h*οι τάκται*
ἐπὶ Κρ[*ιτί* ?]*ο γραμματεύοντος*
Δ]Γ⊢I[III Κ]*αλλιπολῖται*
15 ΔΔ]Γ Σ*αρταῖοι*
Η] Ἀ*μόργιοι*
- - - -
ταῖσδε h[ε] *βολὲ καὶ* h*οι πεντακόσιο*[*ι*]
καὶ χί[*λιοι ἔτα*]*χσαν*
20 [[Η]]Η - - -
- - -

Of l. 1 the only certain letter is ⌊, followed by the faint traces of a *hasta*. These can only have belonged to some heading or other, as they are placed vertically over the list of figures, whereas all the names of states begin in column over one another. As there is room for two letters to the left of the ⌊ in order to bring the beginning of the word into line with the first of the columns of figures, it is natural to suggest that the word was [πό]λ[ες]: there is nothing in the remains of the letter following the *lambda* to make this impossible, for it may quite well have been *epsilon*, but the breakage of the stone has destroyed all the horizontal strokes. In this case one might perhaps restore [πό]λε[ς αὐταὶ φόρον ταχσάμεναι], as in *I.G.* i. 243, but there is hardly sufficient evidence, as we have no proof that this is not the last line of the formula, and that the rest is lost: to this point I shall recur later. There is indeed ample room for the suggested heading, which contains only twenty-five letters, for that in l. 18, ταῖσδε h[ε] βολὲ καὶ hοι πεντακόσιο[ι] contains twenty-nine. But of the names of the states under this heading only one is found in a similar class in other records, namely the [Ἀ]λοποκοννέσιοι, whereas the Μαδύτιοι and Δαρδανῆς, in ll. 9, 10 always occur among the Hellespontine states. What states paid the sums in ll. 2–8 is quite uncertain, for we are confronted with the fact that few of these sums are recognizable elsewhere.

L. 2 [Δ]Γ, if this is correctly restored, is found once, namely in *I.G.* i. 260, as paid by Πράσσιλος, a Thracian state, in 421 B.C.

In l. 3 we may suppose the sum to have been 32, 72, 122, or even 522, according to what the first figure was; but there is nothing to help our choice, as none of these sums are known elsewhere.[1]

The same is true of the sum in l. 5: in each case there is no trace of any figure after the ⊢⊢.

L. 4 is no less puzzling, as we cannot tell how much more than 45 dr. the total was: the figures are not arranged under those of the previous line, but are spaced less generously than in the other lines, which suggests that it contained a larger number of figures than the others, *e.g.* [𐅄Δ]ΔΔΔΓ[⊢⊢]: there does not seem room for more than two or possibly three figures after the Γ and before the beginning of the name of the state, for we can tell from l. 12 how wide the space was. But no state seems to

[1] The Κυζικενοί paid 522 dr. in 447 B.C. (*I.G.* i. 233), but, as we shall see, they occur elsewhere on our stele (*I.G.* i. 259) as paying 858⅓ dr., so this payment is clearly not theirs.

have paid any sum between 95 and 100, nor any sum such as we should get if the first figure were H or ⊓.

L. 6. 46 dr. is a sum which is found only once in these records, and then it was paid by the Δαρδανῆς (*I.G.* i. 231, 449 B.C.), who appear in l. 10 of the present stone as paying 31 (?), so this again is insoluble; nor is any other example known of the payment of any sum between 45 and 50 dr., except by the Βεργαῖοι in Thrace, who paid 48 dr. in 452 B.C. (*I.G.* i. 228), and are restored (*ibid.* 233) as paying the same amount in 447 B.C., but in 428, and probably afterwards, paid 52 dr.

L. 7. 810+ dr. was clearly another long sum, as the figures are crowded together: the figure after the Δ is either Γ or ⊢, and it seems that the engraver cut one of these figures and then changed it into the other. But this corresponds with no known amount in these lists.

L. 8. 63 dr. is another unidentifiable sum.

L. 9. The Μαδύτιοι, who here pay 31+ dr., paid $33\frac{1}{3}$ dr. in 438, the only year for which we have any record of their quota (*I.G.* i. 242), and this leads us to restore the same amount here, for there seem to be traces of a *hasta* after the ⊢. In the somewhat defaced inscription relating to the tribute of 408–7 or 407–6 (*I.G.* i. 258, inscribed on the side of i. 257) they paid some amount of which the second figure was Δ, after which there is room for only two figures before the beginning of their name: this was probably 31 dr., which suggests that they were still assessed at 2000 dr. but failed to pay their tribute in full ($\frac{1}{60}$ of 2000 being $33\frac{1}{3}$ dr.).

L. 10. The Δαρδανῆς likewise seem to have paid 31+ dr., which may represent $33\frac{1}{3}$. Previously to this, whenever their payment is recorded between 442 and 436 B.C., they paid 100 dr.: before the former year they paid sums varying between 46 and 150 dr. In *I.G.* i. 258 they seem to have paid 31 dr. (. . ΔΗ is alone visible on the stone). This suggests that they also were assessed at this later date at 2000 dr. and failed to pay in full. But seeing the damaged condition of that inscription we cannot hope to attain any great degree of certainty. The Ἀλοποκοννέσιοι pay here 26 dr. In 438 (*I.G.* i. 242) they had apparently paid $33\frac{1}{3}$ dr. (Kirchhoff's restoration of . . . . -ΗΙΙ), and in *I.G.* i. 258 they paid ΔΔΗΗ, *i.e.* 22 dr., though possibly another Δ is missing at the beginning of the sum.

The Καλλιπολῖται, who here pay [Δ]ΓΗΙ[ΙΙΙ], had paid the same amount in 437 and 436 (*I.G.* i. 243, 244), but otherwise we have no record

of their payments. It is noteworthy that in each of the two former lists they appear among *πόλες αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι*, and apparently when they were assessed by the *τάκται* in the year of Κρ[*ιτία*]ς (?) their tribute was not altered. As to the date when Kritias, if his name be correctly restored, was *γραμματεύς*, we have no evidence to go upon. The formula is unique in this series of records, but it is a not improbable supposition that he held office in the very year to which this list belongs.

The *Σαρταῖοι* who are a Thracian people, unlike the four preceding ones, who are all Hellespontine, pay 25 dr.: there are clear traces of a Δ before the Γ and there is room for another figure before that. [ΔΔ]Γ is presumably correct, for they are known to have paid that sum on previous occasions (437, 436, and 434 (?)). In 421 their contribution is only $1\frac{2}{3}$ dr., a surprising drop.

The figure representing the sum paid by the *Ἀμόργιοι* on this occasion is unfortunately lost. They appear together with the *Καλλιπολῖται* and *Σαρταῖοι* as *πόλες αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι* in 437 and 436, and may be, I think, safely restored under the same heading in *I.G.* i. 253 (date uncertain, but *ca.* 434), as paying in each case 100 dr. It is not unnatural to restore them here also, as paying the same amount.

Who paid [Γ]Η in the last line of the list of states 'assessed by the *βουλή* and the 1500' is an insoluble problem.

This is all the information obtainable from these three juxtaposed fragments as they stand, but it will be instructive to attempt a reconstruction of the whole stone recording the Quota paid this year. Cavaignac[1] and Wilhelm[2] have recently pointed out that *I.G.* i. 259, *I.G.* i. 266, and the two adjoining fragments published by Köhler, *Hermes*, xxxi. (1896), p. 142, all belong to one stele: to these must now be added the small fragment found by Wilhelm, to which allusion has been made, and the fragment found by myself which has just been discussed. But no serious attempt has been made to fit the three larger stones together, except for a suggestion by Cavaignac that *I.G.* i. 266 seems to belong to a position near the lower right-hand corner of i. 259.

I.G. i. 259 is a rectangular slab, complete at the back only: none of the margins of the front surface are preserved, but those on the top and to the left have been bevelled off for some ten centimetres, while about

[1] *Le Trésor d' Athènes de* 480 *à* 404 [Paris, 1908], pp. xxxvi, foll.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

fifteen centimetres are missing from the right-hand side. The present breadth of the inscribed face is *ca.* ·64, which points to an original breadth of *ca.* ·90, and this measurement is confirmed when *I.G.* i. 266 is placed in its proper position, below No. 259. The restoration in the *Corpus* indicates that the stone had originally four columns, but this, as will be seen, was not the case. The average height of the stone is *ca.* ·50: the line of breakage at the bottom runs fairly straight across the inscribed face, but the edge is far from being vertically broken through from back to front, and is in fact very uneven. It will be noticed that in the left-hand column of the fragment *a* in *Hermes* (*loc. cit.*) there are the remains of the names of states on the sea-coast of Asia Minor, l. 6 [Πυγε]λῆς ἔνες ἐπιφορᾶς, l. 7 [Μύνδι]οι παρὰ Τέρμερα, l. 8 [Κλαζο]μένιοι, etc., which were in the Cario-Ionian area (after 438, when the Carian and Ionian tributes were united under one heading). This suggests naturally that this column is a continuation of col. i. of *I.G.* i. 259, which contains the names of twenty-four states in the same area, and the experiment of putting the two stones together in this position proved beyond doubt that this was correct. The two edges do not make a perfect join, but the general line of the breakage corresponds on both stones, and in one small place there was actually a contact-surface. Any doubt on this point was dispelled by the resemblance of the texture of the marble in the two fragments, and the occurrence in each of similar surface-flaws running vertically. When placed in position there was a space of exactly ·10 between the bottom of the last figure in col. ii. and the top of the letters ΝΕ which survive from the heading Νε[σιοτικὸς φόρος]. This means that in col i. there is a similar space between the bottom of l. 25 or i. 259 (in which no letters are preserved, there being a space between ll. 24 and 26) and the top of the line -ῆς hένο, which is l. 3 in Köhler's fragment *a*, col. i. Now in this space we have already the remains of two lines (26, 27) in i. 259, and there are traces of two lines above -ῆς hένο, in the latter stone, so that we are left with only two lines missing between the two stones in this column, for six lines occupy ten centimetres exactly.

Now the height of the *Hermes* stone is over all ·46, though that of the inscribed face is somewhat less, so that one obtains a total height of *ca.* ·97 for the two stones when placed together. How much is still missing from the bottom of the stele is uncertain, as in the last two lines of col. i. begins a list of cities which bore the following heading [πόλες ἐτέλε]σαν haίδε ἀπὸ

τô φόρο, of which we have no clue to the exact number, though it is not likely to have been large. We can only say that the height of the stele was originally a metre or more. But we are still in the dark as to the exact number of the states that paid the Ἰονικὸς φόρος this year. In *I.G.* i. 259 we have the remains of twenty-one names, and presumably the gaps in ll. 4, 14, and 25 each contained a name: the two latter may very well have been occupied by states, the names of which consisted of not more than five letters, *e.g.* Ἰασῆς, Κῶιοι, Λέρος, Σύμε, Τέιοι, or Χῖοι. The two lines where the breakage occurs account for two more names, and then come thirteen in the lower stone, followed by a space of a height equivalent to five lines. The ϟ in l. 18 of Köhler's copy immediately above the heading just mentioned does not exist, and there are no traces of a letter in this position, though one or two small scratches, clearly accidental, are to be seen about 3 cmm. above l. 19, at the very edge of the stone. I have no doubt that ll. 14–18 inclusive were left blank.

But we can now form a fairly correct estimate of the number of the sums paid by the Ionian states in this column, namely 24 + 2 + 13, = 39, representing at most 37 states, as the payments in ll. 32 and 35 are arrears. The cities which ἐτέλεσαν ἀπὸ τô φόρο seem also to have belonged to the same area, but it may be observed that Köhler's restoration of <ι as [Διο]σ[ιρῖται] seems untenable if we accept, as we clearly must, the restoration [Ἐρυ]θραῖοι in the previous line, for the σ comes under the ρ, which would not make the two words begin on the same vertical line, as the former has three letters before the σ and the latter four before the ρ. I would suggest *e.g.* [Μιλέ]σ[ιοι].

The island-tribute does not call for much comment: there are the remains, in all, of the sums paid by thirteen states, and we can tell from the length of col i. that there was room for at least six more: how many more than nineteen were recorded here we have no means of judging, but the maximum number of islands is thirty-one, and it is not likely that all paid tribute this year. Thera, for instance, was only included in the list in 426 (*I.G.* i. 257) for the first time, the year following that of the present record. It is instructive to notice that in the inscription in question there seem to have been only nineteen islands recorded under the heading [Νεσιοτικὸς φόρος], which suggests that the total in our inscription should be nearer to that figure than to thirty-one. Unfortunately the list is much damaged and hardly helps us to reconstruct the missing items in i. 259.

Probably Νισύριοι and Στυρῆς occurred lower down in our list: they are found in ll. 19, 20 of *I.G.* i. 257, and the following names, which occur in our list, are probably lost from there, Μυκόνιοι, Χαλκιδῆς, Ἄνδριοι, Τένιοι, Ἐρετριῆς, and Ῥεναιῆς. Further than this it is useless to attempt a definite reconstruction. Whether there was some other heading below the list of the islands in this column must likewise remain uncertain: if there was one, it could not have been followed by very many names, as that would imply that the stone was larger than the evidence of col. i. would have led us to expect. For we know that col. i. as reconstituted contains 51 lines, with the probability of a few more being lost from below, and as the first island-name occupied l. 33 of the stone a total of twenty islands would bring us to l. 52, which leaves the impression that the columns consisted of about 52–57 lines. The list for the next year, *I.G.* i. 257, contained apparently fifty-five lines in each of its three columns, and it is extremely unlikely that *I.G.* i. 259 contained more than this, as there was no radical change of conditions between the two years.

For reconstructing the third column, which was clearly the last on the stone (for the island-tribute, which Köhler allotted to his supposed fourth column in the *Corpus*, came in col. ii.), our material consists of the twenty-five lines of Hellespontine states in *I.G.* i. 259, and *I.G.* i. 266 together with the two fragments added to it. Now *I.G.* i. 257 seems to have contained at most twenty-seven names under the heading of [hε]λλεσπόντιο[ς] (φόρος), and perhaps only twenty-four, but certainty is out of the question owing to the damaged state of the stone, as noted in the *Corpus*, *ad loc.* So we should hardly expect to find more than about twenty-five states of this class in our list, though it may be remembered that four more states in the same area are recorded under the two unusual headings in *I.G.* i. 266, *i.e.* lower down in the same column of our stone.

Two small points have escaped the notice of previous editors of *I.G.* i. 259, namely (1) that the last amount recorded on the stone is not Π[ΗΗΗΙΙ] but ΗΙΙ, each figure being quite unmistakable, and there being no traces of more than three figures, and (2) that there are distinct traces of the next line below these figures, namely Γ': these did not form part of any sum, as the first letter was ε and could not possibly have been π. There were apparently two letters before the ε, and the following letter had a vertical *hasta*, but beyond this we have nothing to aid us to restore the line. It was clearly some formula, and there is reason to believe that it

consisted of three lines, for my new fragment seems to fit on to the bottom of this slab here, though there is no exact join. But the line of breakage is similar on the two stones, and, as in the first column, there is a distinctly perceptible contact-surface at one point, when the two edges are placed together. Careful measurement showed that if this join be accepted as certain, there is one line completely lost between the two stones: this makes it extremely probable that the heading of which we have traces in the last line of *I.G.* i. 259 continued into the new fragment, where, as was stated above, there seems evidence for restoring [πό]λ[ες - -]. This seems to confirm the supposition that we have to deal with some heading like that in ll. 45–7 of col. iii. of *I.G.* i. 257, which is restored to read [haίδε πό]λες περυσ[ινὸ | φόρο τ]ὰ̣ ὀ[φειλόμενα ἀπέ|δοσαν]. But unfortunately this does not agree with what is left on the two stones, and indeed makes it possible that the word in the third line was not [πό]λ[ες] at all. It does however make it quite certain that [πό]λ[ες αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι] was not the heading under which the ten states made these unusual payments, which we have here recorded. Apart from the fact that the heading consisted of three lines, if the reasons given for this view be accepted, there was the difficulty that all these sums were odd amounts, and that one of them, namely 811+dr. in l. 7, was more than eight times as large as any other payment recorded under the heading πόλες αὐταὶ ταχσάμεναι: Amorgos paid 100 dr. in 437 B.C., but this is the highest amount previously known as paid under this heading. Whether these three lines contained in other words the same contents as the three lines in *I.G.* i. 257, to which allusion has already been made, we cannot say; but we may be quite certain that they referred to exceptional payments of some sort, which would be most easily explained on the theory that they consisted of, or included, arrears of tribute, and not merely annual payments of the usual amount.

The appended transcript of the lower half of the stele will perhaps be helpful as showing exactly what information we have obtained by this simple piece of reconstruction (p. 241). There seems no need to reproduce the upper half, *i.e.* *I.G.* i. 259, as I have already mentioned the main points where the copy in the *Corpus* is unsatisfactory, namely the incorrect assumption that it contained four and not only three columns, the incorrect reading Π[ΗΗΗΙΙ] for ΗΙΙ for the (lost) twenty-fifth state in the Hellespontine area, and the omission of the important traces of a new heading

beginning directly underneath these figures. It remains to make a few comments on the names in the first column (here, as throughout this paper, the numbering of the lines follows that of the *Corpus*).

Ll. 4 and 5 are beyond hope of recovery.

L. 6 can only have been [*Θρανιῆτ*]*αι*, [*Κεδριῆτ*]*αι*, [*Ναχσιᾶτ*]*αι*, or [*Φασελῖτ*]*αι*.

L. 8, which consisted of nine letters ending in *-οι*, was either [*Ἀστυρεν*]*οί*, [*Καλύδνι*]*οι*, or [*Πιταναῖ*]*οι*.

L. 9 may be restored with great probability as [*Λίνδιο*]*ι ἐχς Ῥόδο*.

In ll. 12 and 13, where we have in each case to supply a state with a name of eight letters ending in *-ιοι*, we may choose between the following: *haιραῖοι*, *Ἰσίνδιοι*, *Κεράμιοι*, *Λεβέδιοι*, *Μιλέσιοι*, *Μυέσσιοι*, and *Νισύριοι*.

L. 14 presumably contained a name of not more than five letters, as there is nothing visible on the stone in the space which a sixth letter would have occupied: of the available names mentioned above, the *Κῶιοι* are not eligible, as they occur below (restored) in l. 39.

L. 17 is restored by Kirchhoff as [*Ἐρυθρα*]*ῖοι*, which is a natural inference seeing that the next five lines contain the names of five cities 'of the Erythraeans.' But we find that the name of this state occurs in l. 50 among those which *ἐτέλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶ φόρο*, so we must supply some other name of nine letters ending in *-ιοι*, *i.e.* *Καλύδνιοι* or *Πιταναῖοι*. It is not possible that *Ἐρυθραῖοι* could have stood in both places, for the heading in l. 48 does not mean that the payment in this year was the last they would make. This point will, however, be alluded to in its proper place.

For the name in l. 23, which consisted of eight letters ending in *-ι*, the choice is large, and it is not worth citing all the possible names here.

L. 24, a name of nine letters ending in *-ῆς* was either *Βαργυλιῆς*, *Καρυανδῆς*, or *Κυρβισσῆς*: between these we have no ground for choice.

L. 25, like ll. 14 and 39, presumably contained a short name.

Ll. 26, 28, and 29 are beyond hope of restoration: the former line contained the name of some state [*παρὰ Κα*]*ῦνο*[*ν*], but we cannot restore it, as our knowledge of the topography of the southern part of Caria in the neighbourhood of Kaunos is far from complete. In l. 27 the name [*Καρβασυανδῆς παρὰ Κα*]*ῦνο*[*ν*] is supplied in the *Corpus*, but the position of Karbasyanda is not known.

Ll. 30, 31 are hopeless, but the last letter in l. 31 seems to have been N: nothing is visible before it, but eight letters seem to be lost.

For the name in l. 32 we have the same alternatives as in l. 24: h*ένο* means of course *ἕνου φόρου*, referring to arrears paid: why the engraver wrote h*ένο* here and h*ένες ἐπιφορᾶς* in l. 35 I am unable to say, though possibly he would not have had room for the longer expression, for which he had room after the shorter name in the latter place.

For l. 33 we have to choose between the same names as in l. 8, but one of the two states of nine letters ending in *-ιοι*, *i.e.* *Καλύδνιοι* or *Πιταναῖοι* must be substituted for [*Ἐρυθρα*]*ῖοι* in l. 17. This proves that all these three names occurred in this list.

Ll. 34–42 need no comment. Ll. 43–47 were all, apparently, left blank, and (as Köhler [1] thought) *πόλες* preceded *ἐτέλεσαν* at the beginning of l. 47: the ς in the previous line in his copy does not exist. His explanation of the formula here is that it means that the states in question had ceased paying their tribute in money and paid it this year by military service, as we find some states to have done in 421 (*I.G.* i. 260), where the formula, used is [*πόλ*]*ες αἵδε στρατ*[*ιᾶ*]*ι* | *μισθὸν ἐτέλεσαν*. But in this case it is not easy to see why these headings should be different from one another if they meant the same thing. Perhaps, however, it would not have struck the Athenian of the fifth century as being at all obscure; and this explanation receives some support from the fact that we have no other instance of a formula stating that certain states had ceased altogether to pay their contributions, which is the only alternative meaning which this phrase could bear. But Köhler wrongly concluded that the evidence from the presence of the Erythraeans and Diosiritae (as he restores l. 51) under this heading pointed to a date immediately after the Samian revolt of 440–39 for this stone.[2] Had he known that it was part of the same stele as *I.G.* i. 259 this view would not have been tenable for a moment. As a matter of fact its date is 427–6, *i.e.* immediately after the revolt of Lesbos.[3] In l. 51 Köhler's restoration [*Διο*]*σ*[*ιρῖται*] is not satisfactory, for there were four letters before the Σ and not three only, as it comes directly under the Ρ in [*Ἐρυ*]*θραῖοι* in the previous line. I would suggest [*Μιλέ*]*σ*[*ιοι*], or [*Μυέσ*]*σ*[*ιοι*]: no other names contain the letters ΣΙ in the required positions.

[1] *Hermes*, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Hermes*, *loc. cit.* This view is followed by G. F. Hill, *Sources for Greek History*, p. 72.

[3] Cavaignac, *op. cit.* p. xxxvi, shows this conclusively.

No. of line in *Hermes*, xxxi.	No. of line in *Corpus*.						
		. . . . . ι	ΔΓΗΗΗC	Θραμβαῖοι	ΓΗΗΗΙΙ	Παλ[αιπερκόσιοι]	
		- - - ες	ΡΗΗΗΗΙ	Αἰγάντιοι	ΔΓΗΙΙΙΙ	Πε[ρκότε]	
	25	- - -	ΔΓΗΙΙΙΙ	Σαναῖοι	ΓΗΙΙΙΙ	'Αζ[ειῆς]	25
		- - - παρὰ Κα]ῦνο[ν]		*vacat.*	ΔΓΗΙΙΙΙ	Πα[ισενοί]	
		Καρβασυανδῆς παρὰ Κα]ῦνο[ν]			Γ	ἡα[ρπαγιανοί]	
		- - -			ΗΙΙ	- - -	
		- - -			. . ε . - - - - - - - - - -		
	30	. . . . . οι			- - - - - - - - - - - -		30
		. . . . . [ν]			. . λ[ε - - - - - - - - -]		
		. . . . . ῆς ἡένο		Νε[σιοτικὸς φόρος]	[Δ]Γ	- - -	
		. . . . . οι	ΗΗΗ	- - -	?[Δ]ΔΔΗΗ	- - -	
	(5)	Πυγελ]ῆς	ΔΔΓ	[Σ]ύ[ριοι]	?[Ρ]ΔΔΔΓ[Η- - - -		
	35	Πυγε]λῆς ἡένες ἐπιφορᾶς	Η	[Μ]υκόνιοι	[Δ]ΔΔΗΗ	- - -	35
		Μύνδι]οι παρὰ Τέρμερα	ΗΗΗ	Χαλκιδῆς	ΔΔΔΔΓ[Η- -	- - -	
241		Κλαζο]μένιοι	ΓΗ	Ἄνδριοι	ΓΗΗΗΔΓ - -	- - -	
		Κινδ]υῆς	Η	Σερίφιοι	ΡΔΗΗΗ	- - -	
	(10)	Κῶι]οι	ΗΗ	Τένιοι	ΔΔΔΗ[ΗΗΙΙ	Μ]αδύτιοι	
	40	Μυρι]ναῖοι παρὰ Κύμεν	ΗΗΗ	['Ε]ρετριῆς	ΔΔΔΗ -	[Δ]αρδανῆς	40
		'Ελαιῖ]ται παρὰ Μύριναν	Γ	['Ρ]εναιῆς	ΔΔΓΗ	['Α]λοποκοννέσιοι	
		Γαργ]αρῆς	ΗΗΗ	- - -	ταῖσδ[ε ἔτ]αχσαν ἡοι τάκται		
		vacat.	ΗΗΗ	- - -	ἐπὶ Κρ[ιτί?]ο γραμματεύοντος		
	(15)		Η	- - -	[Δ]ΓΗ[ΙΙ	Κ]αλλιπολῖται	
	45		Γ	- - -	[ΔΔ]Γ	Σαρταῖοι	45
				About seven names of Islands are missing from here.	[Η]	'Αμόργιοι	
					- - -	- - -	
		πόλες ἐτέλε]σαν ἡαίδε ἀπὸ τῶ φόρο			ταῖσδε ἡ[ε] βολὲ καὶ ἡοι πεντακόσιο[ι]		
R	(20)	- - -			καὶ χί[λιοι ἔτ]αχσαν		
	50	'Ερυ]θραῖοι			[Γ]Η -	- - -	50
		? Μιλέ]σ[ιοι					

These amounts are all missing.

A few names are missing.

A few names are missing.

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE LOWER HALF OF THE RECONSTRUCTED STELE.

The total number of the states which paid tribute this year cannot be fixed exactly. The stele as reconstructed gives us the following figures: *Καρικὸς φόρος*, *ca.* 37 states: 2+ states which *ἐτέλεσαν ἀπὸ τô φόρο*; *Θράικιος φόρος*, 22 states; *Νεσιοτικὸς φόρος* 13+ (probably *ca.* 20) states; *hελλεσπόντιος φόρος*, 25 states; uncertain heading in col. iii., 10 states; assessed by *τάκται* and *βολὲ καὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι*, 5+ states, making a minimum total of 114, or 121 if we count the island-states as twenty in number. To these must be added a few names lost from the bottom of cols. i. and iii., so that we may put the total at *ca.* 130, with a possibility of its having been as large as 140. This is very much what we should expect from the evidence of *I.G.* i. 257, which belongs to the following year, where the total number seems to have been about 128.[1]

A. M. WOODWARD.

[1] In conclusion I must express my warmest thanks to Mr. M. N. Tod for his care in reading the proofs of this article, which has saved me from numerous inaccuracies, and to Mr. B. Leonardos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum, for his permission to publish this fragment.

A CAVE OF THE NYMPHS ON MOUNT OSSA.

On the north-west side of the great central cone of Mount Ossa a wide fissure runs right across the mountain from Mega Keserlì to Tságezi. On the south side of this fissure and at the base of the central cone lies the village of Spiliá, which is to be distinguished from another village of the same name near Laspochori at the eastern entrance to Tempe. To the north of the fissure rises a peak known as Pláka, which is the part of Ossa that directly overhangs Tempe. A little below the bare rocky summit of this peak, which rises to a height of at least 3,500 feet, and on its south side about an hour's walk from Spiliá, is a cave, which, though long known to the inhabitants of the district, has never before been visited by archaeologists. We were told of its existence by Mr. Kostis Phrangópoulos of Pournári, and he accompanied us when we examined it with Mr. H. A. Ormerod on February 2nd, 1910, so that it may be said that archaeology is indebted to Mr. Phrangópoulos for the discovery of this interesting monument, and we ourselves also desire to record here our great obligations to him.

The mouth of the cave, which faces south, is low and is now partly blocked by the fall of masses of stone in front of the entrance. Within the cave the floor slopes downward from the entrance, but this perhaps is partly due to the fact that shepherds and others have dug for treasure in the innermost parts and thrown up the earth and stones towards the entrance. At all events Mr. Phrangópoulos told us that the cave had been much disturbed and that some of the inscriptions which he had seen there (for instance (1) below) had been broken up since his first visit some twenty years ago. The eastern half of the cave is now entirely blocked by the fall of enormous masses of rock from the roof; in the northern corner of the western part there is a stone base (·20 m. high, ·50 m. square) with a socket

on top (·17 m. by ·20 m.) for the insertion of a votive stele or statue. Near it once stood the other socketed block which bears inscription (1). Below this and connected with the north-western corner by a low narrow passage is a small inner cave similar to the large main one. It was here that we found inscription (4). Both caves are natural, and, as far as we could see, show no signs of having been artificially enlarged. The walls are covered with a stalactite deposit, but there are few actual stalactites. We were unable to find any small votive objects such as fragments of bronze or terracotta, except a few vase fragments of uncertain date, but amongst the rubbish inside the entrance to the cave we found, besides the piece of the inscribed base already mentioned, many fragments of votive stelai, most of which are also inscribed. These are dedications to the Nymphs, who in one inscription (4) are apparently called Oreads or mountain Nymphs, and, so far, there is no mention of Pan. The stelai are all inscribed in one or two lines at the top or bottom, and the rest of the surface is now blank; none of them is sculptured. It seems unlikely that it would ever have been the custom to dedicate blank slabs of marble to any deity, therefore we must assume that these stelai, like the now famous grave stelai of Pagasai, once bore paintings. In fact we thought that on one or two fragments we could discern slight traces of paint. As on the Pagasai stelai, only the part which is inscribed is smoothed, and the whole of the rest of the stele is slightly roughened in order to hold the paint. So we think that no one who has had the opportunity of comparing these stelai with those from Pagasai can seriously doubt that these also were painted. All the stelai have a 'root' at the bottom to set them up in the ground or in a stone socket.

The inscriptions we found are as follows :—

(1) Fragment of a socketed marble base: front left-hand corner; ·20 m. high, ·26 m. long, ·32 m. deep, letters ·03 m. high. Inscription complete above, below, and on left. The letters are irregular and vary in size.

ΤΑΙΣΝΥΝ - - - - -	Ταῖς νύν[φαις ὁ δεῖνα - - μα]-
ΧΟΣΚΑΙΟΙΓ - - - -	χος καὶ οἱ π[αῖδες εὐξάμενο]-
ΙΟΝΕΘΕΙΚΑᾚ - - -	ι ὀνέθεικαε[ν].

Ὀνέθεικαεν for ἀνέθηκαν occurs in a Pharsalian inscription, *I.G.* ix. 2, 244.

(2) Gabled votive stele: marble; left half only; root at bottom; inscription on raised bar below gable; ·18 m. wide, ·34 m. high, ·04 m. thick, letters ·01 m. high; complete on left; painted surface ·25 m. high.

. . ΡΥΧΑΔΕΥΝΤΙΣ - - - -

These letters, if read correctly, probably conceal the names of the dedicators.

(3) Flat-topped stele: marble; broken in two, but complete; inscription on raised bar at top; root below; ·32 m. high (with root ·43 m.), ·30 m. wide, ·03 m. thick, letters ·015 m. high; painted surface ·25 m. high.

ΛΕΩΙ . . . ΤΙΓΟ - - - - - Λέω(ν)['Αν]τίγο[νος (or -γόνου) ταῖς]
ΝΥΜΦΑΙΣΕΥΞΑ - - - - - νύμφαις εὐξ(ά)[μενοι or -μενος].

Λέων is a common name in Thessaly, cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, p. 297.

(4) Gabled stele with simple acroteria: marble; no raised bar; root below; ·26 m. high (with root ·30 m.), ·26 m. wide, ·04 m. deep, letters ·01 m. high.

ΟΡΕΙ - - - -
ΕΝΠΕΔΟΚΛΕΙΑΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΕΙΑΠΕΡΓΕΝΕΑΣ

'Ορει[άσιν]
'Ενπεδόκλεια Φιλοδαμεία πὲρ γενεᾶς.

We have suggested 'Ορειάσιν as a restoration although we cannot find any epigraphical parallel (in *C.I.G.* 997 = *I.G.* iii. 2, 1354 'Ερει[νύ]σιν is now read for ['Ο]ρει[ά]σιν); but the word is used by Bion, i. 19. Πὲρ γενεᾶς is probably equivalent to ὑπὲρ γενεᾶς, cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, p. 333; and in two Thessalian votive inscriptions (*I.G.* ix. 2, 577, 585) πὲρ τοῖ παιδός is the restored reading.

(5) Flat-topped stele: marble; inscription on raised bar at top; three fragments fitting together, lower left hand corner missing; ·66 m. wide, ·49 m. high (with root ·525 m.), ·08 m. thick, letters ·015 m. high; painted face ·27 m. high.

. . ΝΦΑΙΣΜΙ - - - ΑΜΟΣΘΕΝΕΙΑΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΑΙ - - - -

[Νύ]νφαις Μί[κρα Δ]αμοσθενεία εὐξάμεναι [ἀνέθηκαν (?)].

For the conjunction of these two names, cf. *I.G.* ix. 2, 1227, l. 4, where the second name is regarded as a patronymic, and therefore is accented

paroxytone. But the present inscription, if read correctly, seems to prove that they are two separate names, and must be restored as such in the *Corpus*, unlike those in the rest of the inscription, which are clearly nominatives followed by the patronymic in each line. It is, however, possible that we should read here *εὐξαμένα ι - - -*, and thus regard Δ]*αμοσθενεία* as a patronymic, as we have several other examples of feminine participles in *-μένα* for *-μένη*. This in turn avoids inconsistency in the other stone.

(6) Lower left-hand corner of stele: marble; inscription below; complete on left; ·23 m. high, ·20 m. wide, ·04 m. thick, letters ·015 m. high.

ΓΑΝΣΑΣ - - - - Πάνσας [*νύνφας - - -*]

ΓΑΝΣΑ occurs in a Pharsalian inscription as a Thessalian form for *πάσᾳ*, *I.G.* ix. 2, 234, l. 2; cf. also the feminine forms of the participles in Thessaly, *I.G.* ix. 2, p. 338.

(7) Flat topped stele: marble; inscription on bar at top; root below; complete; ·30 m. high (with root ·36 m.), ·30 m. wide, ·04 m. thick, letters ·02 m. high. All that is visible of the inscription are the following letters near the end:—

- - - - ΣΙΙ - - - -

(8) Mr. Phrangópoulos once had in his possession a fragment of marble inscribed, as he told us, *ταῖς νύμφαις ἐξάμενον*; this should probably be read *ταῖς νύμφαις εὐξάμενος*.

With the exception of (1), which seems to belong to the fourth century, all the inscriptions apparently date from the third and second centuries B.C.

The interest of this cave lies in the fact that it is the first so far discovered in North Greece,[1] and that, unlike the others hitherto known, it seems to be dedicated to the Nymphs alone, and not to Pan and the Nymphs.[2] We hope that it will be possible for us to excavate it later, when doubtless more light will be thrown on the cult[3] practised here.

A. J. B. WACE.
M. S. THOMPSON.

[1] Cf. Rouse, *Gk. Votive Offerings*, pp. 46 ff.

[2] Pan was worshipped on Mount Homole, the part of Ossa near Homolion, which is placed at Laspochori: Theocritus, vii. 104; Γεωργιάδης, Θεσσαλία,[2] p. 146.

[3] For the cult of the Nymphs in general see Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie*, pp. 826 ff.; Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v., and Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, v. pp. 424 ff., 458 ff.

NOTE.

Dr. Arvanitopoullos has now brought down to the Larissa Museum the inscriptions we saw. He also, through Mr. Phrangópoulos, excavated for a day. His finds include two inscribed fragments which complete No. 2, which now reads: ///ΙΥ̣ΡΙΧΑ . Σ̣ΥΝΤΙΣ////////ΓΙΑΝΥΝΦΑΙΣ. The whole stone is now twice the width of the fragment seen by us in the cave. [We have probably to deal with two names coupled with *σύν*, *e.g.* Π̣υριχα · *σὺν* Τισ[ικρατ]ε*ίᾳ* Νύνφαις; but it is hard to see what the first name can have been, as we have to account for the vacant space between Α and Σ, unless, perhaps, it was Π̣υρίχα[ς], an unknown variety of the common name Πύρ(ρ)ιχος[1]: the omission of the second ε is frequent in Thessalian inscriptions. For the second name the choice is not large: we might also read Τισ[ιμα]χε*ίᾳ*, a feminine name formed from Τισίμαχος, but hitherto, apparently, unknown.—A. M. W.] Other finds include fragments of black-glazed pottery and broken terracotta figurines of the fourth and third centuries B.C., a bronze ring with a representation of Eros with a bow, and a copper Thessalian coin of the Antonine Age. Dr. Arvanitopoullos hopes to complete the excavation of the cave later in the summer.

A. J. B. W.
M. S. T.

LARISSA, *May* 21*st*.

[1] Or Π̣υρί(ν)α[ς], as in *I.G.* ix. 2, 109 *b*, l. 48; cf. Πυρρίνας, *ibid.* 281, l. 2.

MONUMENTS OF THE GATTELUSI.

PROFESSOR HOPF left unfinished at his death a projected work[1] which would have filled a marked gap in our knowledge of the Latin dynasties of the Archipelago—the history of Lesbos and its dependencies under the Gattelusi of Genoa. The possessions of the Gattelusi in their fullest extent included Lesbos, the Thracian islands of Thasos, Lemnos, Samothrace, and Imbros, and the mainland towns of Phocaea (Foggia Vecchia) in Ionia and Aenos in Thrace. The Frankish monuments of the islands had already been adequately chronicled by Professor Conze,[2] but the mainland dependencies remained, from this point of view, unexplored.[3] In the course therefore, of cursory visits to Aenos and Phocaea in 1908, I took notes and photographs of the few surviving monuments, supplementing these researches by visits to Mytilene and Lemnos. In the latter islands, however, the castles are still garrisoned: in Lemnos I was denied entrance, while in Mytilene, though treated with every courtesy, I found photography out of the question and had to content myself with scanty notes within the castle.

The Gattelusi monuments of Aenos, and Mytilene particularly, seem to me to throw some fresh light on the history and genealogy of the family, and to correct in some points the summary table drawn up by

[1] Mentioned in Ersch and Gruber, *Gr. Gesch.* 448, note 15; *Leonardi Chiensis de Lesbo capta Epistola* (Regimonti, 1866). Hopf's stemma of the Gattelusi is given in *Chron. Gréco-Rom.* 502; see further, Friedlaender, *Beitr. z. alten Münzkunde*, 29; P. Lambros in Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient Latin*, 432; Anon. **Οἱ Γατελοῦζοι ἐν Λέσβῳ**, Athens, 1900.

[2] *Reise auf den Inseln des Thr. Meeres* (1860): cf. *C.I.G.* 8777; *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* (1865); see also (for Lesbos) Newton's *Travels and Discoveries*, and Boutan in *Arch. Miss.* v. (1856), 275.

[3] Since my visit Prof. Lambakes has published his notes on Aenos in **Δελτίον τῆς Χριστ. Ἀρχαιολ. Ἑταιρείας, Η'** (1908).

Hopf. Since his death, moreover, some of the Genoese documents he used have been printed,[1] and the materials for the history of Aenos and the islands augmented by the publication of the contemporary chronicle of Critobulus of Imbros.[2]

§ 1.—AENOS.[3] (Figs. 1, 2, 4.)

Aenos is best known to most of us for its extremely beautiful fourth-century coins, and practically nothing of its history in Greek times has come down to us. These coins are, however, sufficient evidence of its commercial importance, which was inevitable from its position. The

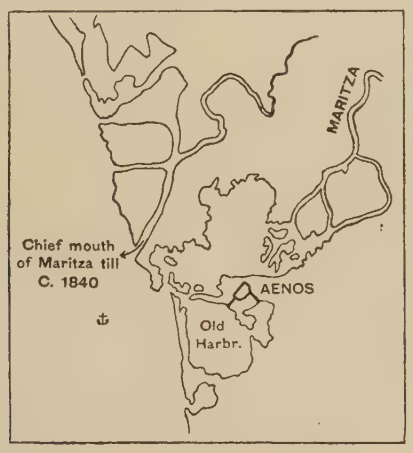


FIG. 1.—AENOS: SKETCH-PLAN OF ENVIRONS.

town, which has retained its ancient name and site, stands on slightly rising ground in a nearly insulated position on the estuary of the Hebrus (Maritza), on the upper waters of which stands Adrianople and higher still Philippopolis. In mediaeval days, and down to comparatively recent times,

[1] *Giornale Ligustico*, i. (1874) 84-9, 217-20; ii. 86-93, 292-7; iii. 313-16; v. 345-71; cf. also viii. 953 ff.; ix. 1396, and *Act. Patr.* ii. DXL. 338.

[2] *Frag. Hist. Graec.* v.

[3] For topography, etc. see B. de la Brocquière (1433, p. 344, Bohn); Cyriac in Ziebarth, *Inschriftenhandschrift i. d. Hamburger Stadtbibliothek* (1903), 10: cf. Jacobs, *Ath. Mitt.* 1897, 115; la Motraye, *Travels*, i. 279; Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voy. Pitt.* ii. 209, Pl. XIII. and p. 109; Webber-Smith in *J.R.G.S.* vii. (1837), 61-74; Grisebach, *Reise d. Rumelien*, i. 144-188; Slade, *Travels*, 475; B. A. M[υσταχίδης] in **Ἑβδομάς**, ii. 1885, No. 52: cf. **Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστ. κ. Ἐθν. Ἑταιρείας**, ii. 82-107 and 622-625. Historical references in Tafel, *Symb. Crit.* ii. 44 and 129. Inscriptions in Dumont, *Inscrr. de la Thrace*; Papadopoulos-Kerameus in **Θρακικὴ Ἐπετηρίς**, i. (1895), 9-11; *B.C.H.* xxiv. 168: cf. xvii. 635.

the stream was navigable up to the former at least.[1] Of late years, owing to a change in the course of the river [2] probably caused by floods, the old harbour of the town has been closed by a bank, and the river itself is no longer navigable except downwards, and that by the crudest rafts and during the winter only. As late as 1847, in the reign of Mahmud the reformer, an unsuccessful attempt was made to dredge the harbour,[3] and remains of the dredger lie high and dry on the marshes in memory of this ill-fated attempt. At the present day Aenos is completely superseded as a port by Dedeagatch, which has railway connection with Salonika, Adrianople, and Constantinople, but the older town still has a certain local importance for its sea and lake (Gala Gueul) fisheries and its potteries, which especially affect the manufacture of large rough vessels (*πιθάρια*, *κιούπια*)) destined for all parts of the Aegean.

The harbour now in use is the actual mouth of the Maritza, which is hampered by a bar, only admitting open boats up to about 20 tons, and by the strong stream ; the latter renders the entrance extremely difficult to negotiate with a head-wind, so that traffic is of necessity restricted to boats which can be rowed at need.

The first mention of the town in the Byzantine period is that of Procopius.[4] Justinian, finding it in a ruined state, fortified it among other places of Thrace against barbarian inroads ; to Justinian probably it owes the main lines of the present acropolis fortifications. The end of a long tongue running out from the east into the marshes of the river-mouth is surrounded by a wall defended by irregularly-spaced towers and enclosing a long oval space. The main gate (Fig. 4) is on the north and a postern on the south-west, the walls being especially formidable on the neck of the ridge.[5] Conspicuous remains of a palace later in date than the original circuit stand on the north wall.

This acropolis is now inhabited by a few families only, but contains

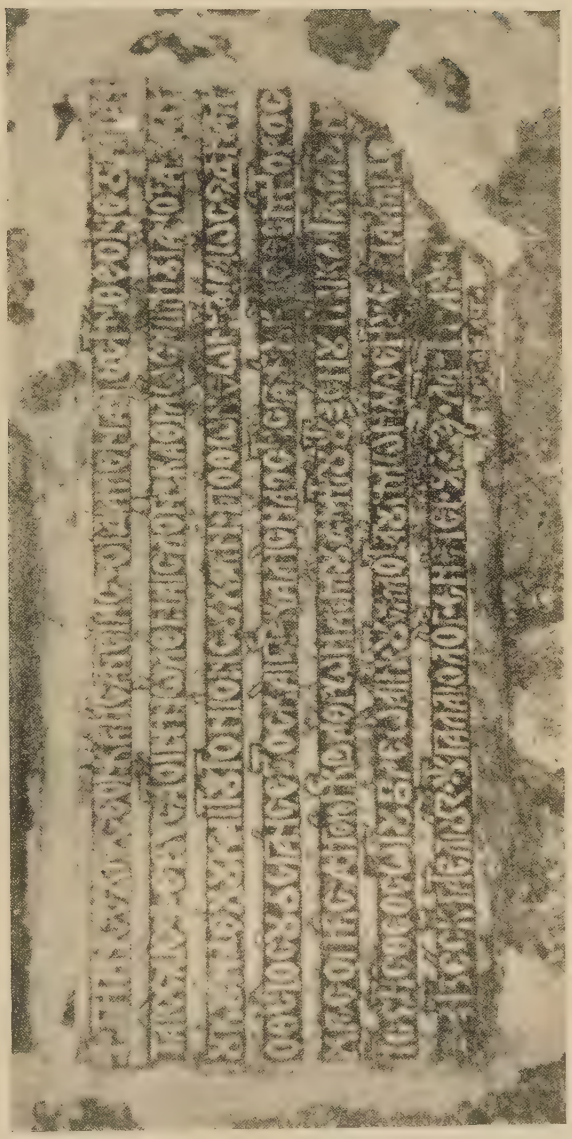
[1] Critobulus, II. xii.; Choiseul-Gouffier, ii. 109 ; G. Keppel, *Journey across the Balcan* (1831), i. 253. It was then navigable till May for vessels of 200 tons, but cf. 254.

[2] This change is easily appreciated by a comparison of our own Admiralty Chart (1087) with the more recent Austrian staff-map. In the Admiralty charts (surveyed about 1840) the main stream of the Maritza debouches north of the lagoons of Aenos—in the Austrian map it flows through them. Both channels have always existed, though their relative importance has changed.

[3] C. MacFarlane, *The Doom of Turkey*, 341 ff.; also *Turkey and its Destiny*, ii. 540 ff.

[4] *De Aed.* iv. 11.

[5] Here there is a long and worn Byzantine inscription at the top of the wall, illegible from below even with a strong glass.



FIGS. 2, 3.—AENOS: (2), PANORAMIC VIEW FROM SOUTH. (3), INSCRIPTION (1).

several Byzantine churches of interest including the present mosque (formerly S. Constantine), a large building of the cross-in-square type with a fine open narthex at the west end.

The acropolis is surrounded by suburbs: that on the north contains the bazaar and runs down to the river-quay; on the west are the potteries, and on the south a walled suburb fronting a marsh which was evidently the mediaeval port. Two divergent walls, furnished with towers, run out

FIG. 4.—AENOS: GATE OF ACROPOLIS.

from the extremities of the acropolis to the edge of the marsh. These walls belong to a period long after Justinian, probably the thirteenth [1] to fifteenth centuries. Two of the towers bear the arms and inscriptions of the Gattelusi.

Aenos seems to have come into the hands of Francesco Gattelusio with Mytilene in 1355, as the dowry of his wife Maria Palaeologina, sister

[1] The inscription in the E. wall (Lambakes, p. 29 (302)), *Διὰ τοῦ Λιβαδαρίου Ἰωάνου καὶ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Ἀγγέλου*, should perhaps be referred to the Protovestiarius and Stratopedarch mentioned by Pachy. ii. 9–11 (cf. Muralt, *ad ann.* 1296).

of John VI. Palaeologus; Francesco sent his younger brother Nicolo to govern it.[1]

By 1436 Nicolo or his successors had acquired the lordships of Imbros and Samothrace, and in 1453 Palamede Paleologo Gattelusio, then lord of Aenos, was confirmed in these possessions by Mahomet II.[2]

Dying two years later, he willed his dominions to the widow and children of his eldest son Giorgio (d. 1448) with a share to his second son Dorino, who, however, seized the whole inheritance. The widow, determined on revenge, though without prospect of material satisfaction, denounced him as a traitor to his suzerain Mahomet; he was accused of garrisoning his possessions with Italian troops, with fraudulent administration of the Aenos saltings, and, from another quarter, with harbouring runaway slaves from the neighbouring Turkish towns.[3] Mahomet at once marched on Aenos and sent a fleet from Gallipoli to invest it by sea. Dorino had retired to Samothrace to winter, so the emperor plundered his palace but treated the surrendered inhabitants leniently.

Meanwhile the Turkish admiral went with a galley to Samothrace to fetch the prince to answer in person, but Dorino, mistrusting him, fled to Mahomet at Adrianople and was pardoned and reinstated in possession of the islands. These, however, were later exchanged, on the representations of the Turkish admiral, for the inland district of Zichna (in Macedonia) as less dangerous.

Dorino, on his way thither, suspecting treachery from his escort, murdered them and escaped to Naxos, where he married Elizabeth Crispo of the ducal house. In 1459 Aenos and the islands became for a short time the appanage of Demetrius Palaeologus, formerly despot of the Morea.[4]

[1] Critobulus, an excellent authority, says (ii. 13) that Aenos was part of the dowry of Maria. Chalcondyles (277 P.) says that Nicolo was sent there as governor by Francesco at the request of the inhabitants, who had had a difference with their former ruler; and this has been considered by some the beginning of the Gattelusi connection. But in this case why should Aenos have applied to Francesco at all? Hopf (on the authority of the earliest document mentioning him (*Giorn. Lig.* i. 86 (3)), dates Nicolo's lordship of Aenos from 1384. The town was then tributary to the Turks, probably since the expedition of Lala Shahin in 1383, cf. Critob. ii. 13 *καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀπέφερον πάντες τοῖς τε προγόνοις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξ ὅτου δὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνοι διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην κτλ. . . δασμὸν ἐτήσιον.*

[2] Critob. i. 75.

[3] Hammer-Hellert, *Emp. Ottoman*, iii. 28.

The history of the years 1455–1459 is related at length by Critobulus, II. xi.–III. xxiv. See also Ducas, 335; Chalcondyles, 469; Sansovino, 234.

After 1469, when it was burnt by the Venetians,[1] the town disappears from history.

So much for the history of Aenos under the Gattelusi. The inscriptions of the period are five in number:

1. The first and most important of these is written on a tomb of grey marble (·48 × 1·11 m.) built into the church of Chrysopege in the citadel, a plain building otherwise not remarkable. The text of this inscription was published first in the *Θρακικὴ Ἐπετηρίς* by Papadopoulos-Kerameus after a MS. note of 1716,[2] and quite lately, from the stone, by Prof. Lambakes.[3] Its historical importance has, however, passed hitherto unnoticed.

The text (in letters ·045 m. high) runs as follows:—

+ Πηγήν σε χρύσεον, κόρη τῆς ἁγνείας, οἴδαμεν πάντες τὴν θεὸν τετοκῆαν. | Ταῖς σαῖς φέρουσα τοίνην ὠλέναις λόγον καθιλέωσαί μη[4] τὸ πᾶν ὅταν κρίνῃ. | Οὐκοῦν δέχου καὶ τουτονὶ ὅν Σου χάριν πόθῳ νεὼν ἤγιρα ὡς ἐδηνάμη[ν. | Ὁ θεῖος οὗτος πάνσεπτος καὶ π(ερὶ)καλὴς ναὸς τῆς πανάγνου καὶ θεομήτορος | Χρυσοπήγης ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρων παρ' ἐμοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ξένου, τηνικαῦτα κρατοῦντος τῆς θεοσώστου πόλεως Αἴνου τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου ἡμῶν αὐθέντου Σὺρ Παλαμιδεος | Φραντζέσκου Γατελιούζου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου ἐν ἔτει ς, ϡ λά,[5] ἰν(δικτιῶνος) να'.

Κοστ(αντῖνος) ὁ μάστ(ορις).

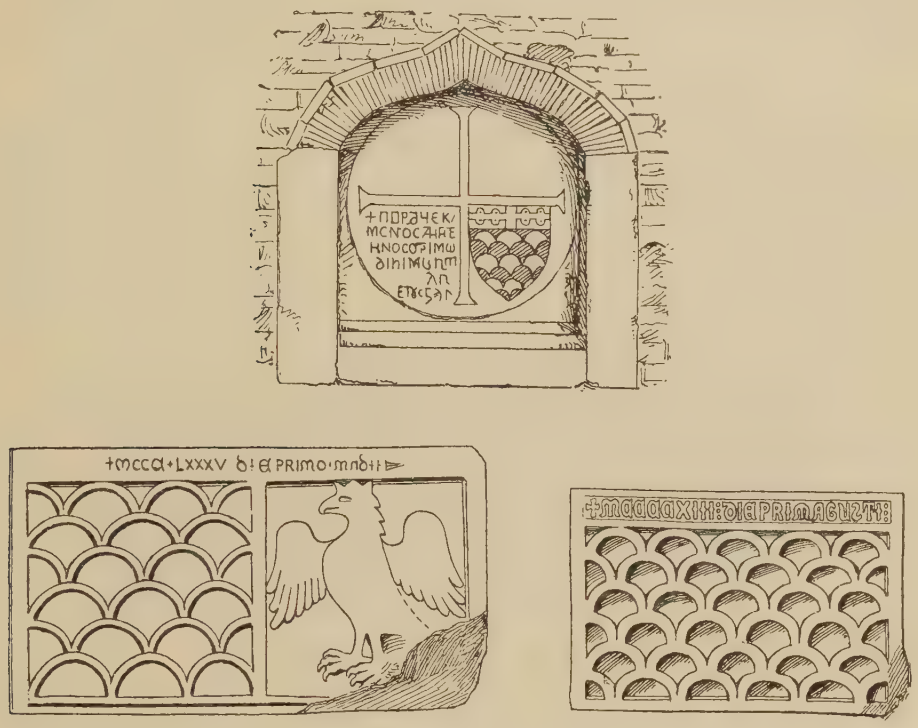
The poetical effusion which occupies the first three lines need not detain us: the spelling and metre are of about the same quality. The signature of the mason is of interest as occurring also twice in official inscriptions of Palamede at Samothrace[6] and again at Aenos.[7] The prose part of the inscription gives us one entirely new fact, to which we shall return later, viz. that Palamede was the son of Francesco of Lesbos, not, as Hopf assumed from his having reigned at Aenos, of Nicolo. The identity of the Francesco mentioned is a separate question. So far we have established that Palamede was of the senior branch of the family, as we should have supposed (*a*) from his bearing the name Palaeologo (since only the elder branch had imperial blood) and (*b*) from the fact that he had lands in Lesbos.[8]

2. In tower at W. end of acropolis, high up, grey marble block (perhaps

[1] Baronius, *Annales*, 1469. [2] i. 1895, p. 11. It is mentioned by Webber-Smith.
[3] *Loc. cit.* p. 16, No. 263. [4] For *μοι*. [5] A.M. 6931 = A.D. 1422–3.
[6] Conze, Pl. III. 7, 8. [7] *v. inf.* Inscr. 5. [8] Critob. ii. 11.

ancient base re-used) built into niche with ogival arch of tile. It bears a large cross with expanding ends, beneath the arms of which are (*l*) illegible inscription,[1] (*r*) arms of Gattelusi with Palaeologus in chief. (Fig. 5.)

3. In ruined square tower (A) of western 'long wall,' oblong white



FIGS. 5, 6, 7.—AENOS: INSCRIPTIONS (2), (3), (4).

marble slab with arms in square sunk panels, (1) Gattelusi (2) single-headed eagle walking to l: above, in Gothic letters

+MCCC+LXXXV. DIE PRIMO+MADII[2] (Fig. 6).

4. In a well-preserved square tower (B) of the eastern 'long wall,' with characteristic Genoese moulding at string-course. Oblong yellowish

[1] Lambakes (29, No. 306) reads
+ΠΑΡΑCΤΕΚΑ | ΜΕΝΟCΔΗΓΗΤΡΙ | ΑΝΟCΟΤΡΙΜΩΝΕΤΟΥCϛ,ϵλ'

[2] Lambakes, p. 30, No. 303, reading MARCII erroneously.

marble slab with arms of Gattelusi, inscribed above in raised Gothic letters

·+MCCCCXIII : DIE PRIM AGVSTI ⁝ [1] (Fig. 7.)

5. A fifth inscription,[2] built into the wall of the modern church of H. Vlasios, is apparently not in its original position. It is written on a slab of white marble measuring ·29 × 1·08 m. (letters ·04) and bears the arms of Gattelusi with Palaeologus in chief. (Fig. 8.)

The text runs:—

Ἀνηγέρθη ἐκ βάθρον ὁ θῖος κ(αὶ) πάνσεπτος | ναὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Νικολάου διὰ κόπ|ου κ(αὶ) ἐξόδου Αὐγουσταρίκη τοῦ Κα|ναβούτζι ἔτους ϛ, ϡ κθ' [6929 = 1420–1] (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ιδ'. | Κοστ(αντῖνος).

The arms are therefore those of Palamede.[3] The mason is the same as in (1). The name of the founder is known from the *Commentary*

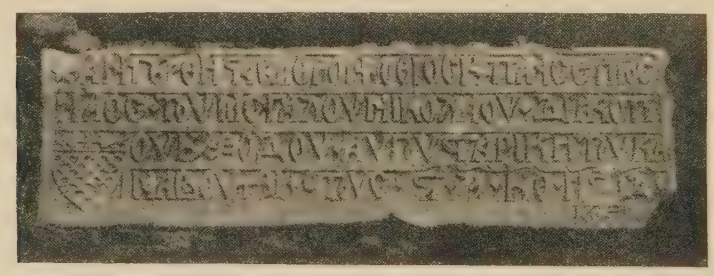


FIG. 8.—AENOS: INSCRIPTION (5).

of Ioannes Kanavoutzes on Dionysius of Halicarnassus, interesting in this connection as dedicated to the 'prince of Aenos and Samothrace.' By the latest editor of the *Commentary*, Kanavoutzes is supposed to be a Frank of Chios.

The name (as *Κανναβούτζης*) occurs first as that of a *drungarius* of the fleet who in 1324 dedicated a church of S. George in Lesbos.[4] Next we have the Ioannes above mentioned, who had a brother in the service of the Lord of Aenos [5] possibly the Augoustarikes of the inscription.

[1] Lambakes, p. 29, No. 302. [2] *Ibid.* p. 13, No. 248.

[3] This does not imply that Kanavoutzes was related to the reigning family, cf. the Imbrian inscr. = Conze, Pl. III. ii. p. 82 and probably No. 2. above.

[4] *Acta Patr.* ii. DXL. 338.

[5] *Comm. in Dion. Hal.* p. 2. Rhodokanakis (*Ἰουστινιάναι*, 783) mentions further a Janus

The earliest references to the family therefore connect them with Lesbos[1] rather than Chios, where they are found first in a document of 1520,[2] and are said still to survive at Volisso.[3]

§ 2.—PHOCAEA.

Old Phocaea was held by the Gattelusi from the Giustiniani of Chios for over a hundred years (c. 1346–1455).[4] The mediaeval town covered part only of the site occupied by its classical predecessor, being confined to a rocky tongue of land about a quarter of a mile long which runs out between the two natural ports.[5] The site is thus surrounded on three sides by water. The harbour is commodious, safe and deep, and in the days of sailing craft was much used by vessels on their way to and from Smyrna; it is now frequented only by ships trading in the salt of the Hermos salines—a government monopoly. The salt is brought round in small sailing boats of 20–30 tons (*πιννέδες* and *μπρατζέρες*), stored in the government warehouses and loaded on ships and barques of 600–800 tons chiefly owned in Chios, for various ports of the Aegean. The natural depth of the north harbour (*μικρὸ γιαλό*) allows vessels of this size to be loaded from a short plank bridge.

The remains of the Genoese period in the town are scanty. The walls existed intact till about 1860, when they were pulled down and a large Greek suburb formed itself opposite the old town on the northern harbour. The lower parts of the wall surrounding the high seaward end of the

Monomachus Kanavoutzes who married Sebaste Koressi of Chios, and died in Lemnos (which belonged to the Gattelusi) in 1420: cf. *ibid.* 785, a further alliance between the families. But R.'s genealogies are a tainted source.

[1] Their memory is preserved in a *θέσις* **Καναβίτσα** in Lesbos (S. Karydonis, **Τὰ ἐν Λέσβῳ Μοναστήρια**, p. 33).

[2] Miklosich and Müller, *Acta*, iii. 363, No. xvii.

[3] Lehnerdt's preface to Kanavoutzes, p. xx, quoting Zolotas, whose dissertation on the family in the school-programme of Chios (1889) I have not seen. The name also occurs in Leros (Oeconomopoulos, **Λεριακά**, 57).

[4] For the mediaeval history in detail see Papadopoulos-Kerameus, **Φωκαϊκά**, Smyrna, 1878; Tomaschek in *Sitzber. Ak. Wien*, cxxiv. (1891), 26; Mas-Latrie, *Trésor*, 1788. For the topography, etc.: Des Hayes, *Voyage*, 242; Le Bruyn, *Voyage* (Delft, 1700), p. 166, Pll. LVII–LIX; Sonnini, *Voyage*, ii. 349; Hamilton, *Asia Minor*, i. 59; Laborde, *Asie Mineure*, Pl. II. 1; Pouqueville, *Grèce*, Pl. XVI.; Allan, *Pictorial Tour*, 39 (sketch); Ramsay, *J.H.S.* ix. 396; Graef, *Ath. Mitt.* xiv. 134; Boehlau, *Ion. Nekrop.* 7 f.; Adm. Chart, 1566 (897), see also Cuinet, *Turquie d'Asie*, iii. 478. Inscriptions in *C.I.G.* 3412–3; *B.C.H.* xvii. 34; (Byzantine) *C.I.G.* 8756 = *Mon. Piot*, ii. 131–6.

[5] Cf. the description in Livy, xxxvii. 31.

promontory survive, and in this direction a battery *à fleur d'eau* was added to the defences, probably early in the seventeenth century.[1] Towards the northern angle a curious and apparently early, Doric capital is built in. On the landward end of the peninsula a few formless fragments still stand, the salt warehouses, harbour-offices, etc. occupying the site of the walls along the quays.

A solitary Genoese inscription, engraved on a marble block, ·80 × ·85 m., is built into the wall of the house of S. Alexopoulos.[2] The

FIG. 9.—PHOCAEA: INSCRIPTION OF DORINO GATTELUSIO.

upper portion is occupied by three panels bearing (1) the monogram of Palaeologus, (2) the double-headed eagle displayed, bearing an escutcheon with the arms of Gattelusi, and (3) the arms of Gattelusi (Fig. 9). Below in letters ·05 m. high is the inscription

+ Ντόρις Παλεολόγος ὁ Γατελιοῦ|ζος κ(αὶ) αὐθέντης Παλε(ὰς) Φωκέ(ας) ϛ, ϡλ β′ (A.M. 6932 = A.D. 1423–4).

[1] After the attack of the Knights of Malta in 1613 (dal Pozzo, i. 265)? The battery is mentioned as a new work by Des Hayes (1621), who, probably on this account, calls the town New Phocaea. The mistake is repeated by Le Bruyn (Anon.), *Acquisto di Scio* (1710), and Sonnini. The battery was supplemented after the bombardment of Phocaea by Riva in 1649 (Valiero, *Guerra di Candia*, ii. 172 etc.) by a new fort (dated A.H. 1090 = A.D. 1678) on a rocky headland at the entrance to the harbour. This is a roughly-built oblong enclosure, defended on the land side by a ditch excavated in the rock, and commanding the passage by a semicircular battery *à fleur d'eau* for five guns.

[2] The owner said it had been copied by Humann, but I can find no publication.

The inscription is of Dorino (I) Gattelusio, afterwards (1427–49) lord of Mytilene, here regent for his father. He is the only one of the Gattelusi who struck coins for Phocaea. The original position of the block was probably above one of the 'two fine gates' which Le Bruyn feared to draw on account of the Turks.

§ 3.—MYTILENE.

The castle of the Gattelusi at Mytilene stands on the high peninsula in front of the town, which is built for the most part on the isthmus and the

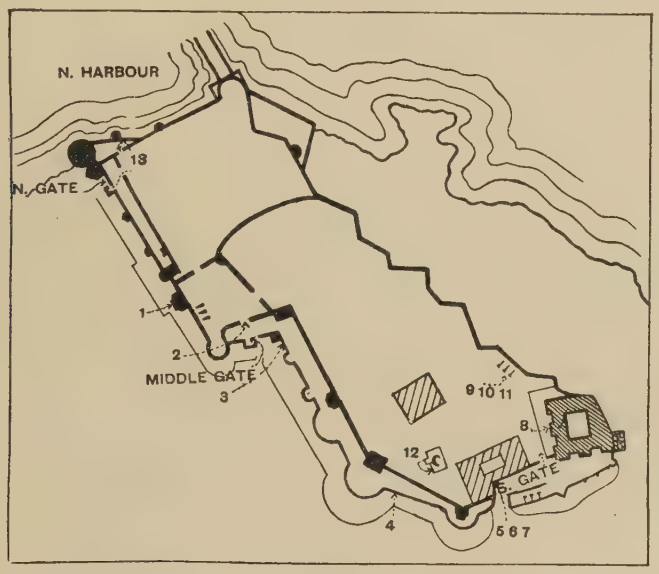


FIG. 10.—MYTILENE: SKETCH-PLAN OF CASTLE SHEWING POSITION OF MONUMENTS.

adjacent slopes of the mainland (Fig. 10). Of the town-walls, which are shewn on the Admiralty chart [1] extending from sea to sea on the land side of the isthmus, not a trace remains. The fort on the southern harbour is ruined but still picturesque [2]; it seems to be of the sixteenth or seventeenth century. None of the points mentioned by Leonard of Chios as the sites of the besiegers' batteries (*Saponaria*, *Templum S. Nicolai*, *S. Cali juxta*

[1] 381 [886]. Views of Mytilene are given by Le Bruyn (Pll. LI, LII), Tournefort and Choiseul-Gouffier, i. Pl. XLIV.

[2] A view of it is given by Mrs. Walker, *Old Tracks and New Landmarks*, 168.

delinquentium patibulum) are now known except the latter, which is a site without a church, near the fragment of aqueduct towards the southern extremity of the town.[1]

The castle (Fig. 11) is a long irregular enclosure stretching from the sea on the north port to the crest of the hill, the axis being approximately N.W. and S.E. One end lies on the harbour and is provided with a battery *à fleur d'eau* for three guns, called Saplija, and tenanted only by one finely-cast early bronze Turkish gun of large calibre.[2] The long N.E.

FIG. 11.—MYTILENE: THE CASTLE FROM THE WEST.

side is well protected by the steep fall of the rock, while the irregular S.E. and S.W. sides are defended by a wide dry moat with masonry counterscarp and a double line of fortifications; these have been extensively rebuilt in modern times.

The enclosure is entered by gates (1) at the sea side near the W. corner, (2) in the middle of the S.W. wall (Orta Kapu), and (3) near the S.E. corner, the latter being now the chief entrance. Inside, the castle is

[1] All my informants are agreed that there is no church of S. Nicholas in the town.

[2] About 15 in. The gun is said to bear the name and titles of Mahomet II, but the date on it is 1072 (Mahomet IV).

divided into two parts at Orta Kapu, the lower being presumably the *suburbium inferius scilicet castrum Menaludium*[1] of Leonard (Fig. 12): this is armed with a small battery on the land-wall. The upper half is the larger and contains the barracks, parade-ground and mosque; it has two light batteries, on the sea and near the upper gate. At the former lie a bronze Venetian six-pounder with the arms of Bernardo and lion of S. Mark, a fine long Turkish gun in the same metal dated A.H. 923 = A.D. 1576 (Selim I.), and a very ancient piece of iron ordnance made of hooped bars.

FIG. 12.—MYTILENE: WALLS OF LOWER CASTLE.

At the extreme S.E. corner of the upper castle stands the keep (called Tchan Kulessi) which is divided by a dry ditch from the parade-ground and presents a façade of three rectangular towers to the W. and S. Its third side is formed by the seaward wall of the citadel.

[1] Menaludium is mentioned also by Bartolommeo dali Sonetti; Pococke calls the divisions simply the old and new castles.

[2] A plan of it is given from the Admiralty Chart by Conze, another in the new *Corpus of Inscriptions*, the best (inaccurate for detail) in Koldewey's *Lesbos*, from which our sketch is taken (Fig. 10).

The Genoese monuments at present existing in the castle of Mytilene[1] are as follows :—

(1) In the polygonal tower of the west wall, a bluish marble slab with three compartments, containing the arms of (*a*) Gattelusi, (*b*) Palaeologus, (*c*) eagle walking.

(2) Orta Kapu, above the outer arch of the second gate ; a blue marble slab divided into four square compartments containing : (*a*) single-headed crowned eagle walking to r., (*b*) monogram of Palaeologus, (*c*) arms of Gattelusi, (*d*) inscription in Gothic script ('black-letter') character :— + m̊. cc̊c. lxx̊iii. die | prima. aprilis ∽ | magnificus. et potēs. dn̄s. | dn̄s. [francis]cus. gatelux|ius. dn̄s. insule. met|elini. et. c̄. fecit. fieri | hoc. edificium.

The heraldry and inscription are given by Newton (i. 115) and (more correctly) by Conze (*Lesbos*, 5): Boutan mentions it (p. 277) with the erroneous date, 1363. A Turkish inscription in the tympanum bears the date (of repairs?) A.H. 1186, so that the original position of the Gattelusi inscription is not certain. I question it in the case of all stones but (8).

(3) Built (sideways) into the outer wall just south of Orta Kapu, fragment with two rectangular compartments containing arms of (*a*) Palaeologus, (*b*) remains of imperial eagle: above on the frame is the inscription ? MCCCL]XXII DIE . . . .

(4) Built upside down into the wall (high up) between the semicircular battery and the upper gate, a small white marble slab with arms resembling Bembo of Venice.[2]

This was noted by Newton (i. 334, note 51). If the arms are of Bembo they are difficult to explain. Mytilene was never retaken by a Christian power after 1462, though several attempts were made (1) by the Venetians in 1464 under Orsato Giustiniano,[3] (2) by the Venetians in 1499 under Pesaro,[4] and (3) by a combined French and Rhodian fleet under Philippe di Clèves Ravenstein in 1501.[5] Most probably the arms are those of some officer in the Rhodian or Papal service sent to assist Mytilene

[1] I may here note that I found no inscriptions or heraldry of the Gattelusi at Petra or Molivo (cf. Mrs. Walker, *loc. cit.* 205). The 'mediaeval relief' at Petra (Colnaghi, *ap.* Newton, i. 347) is clearly dated 1609.

[2] D'az. au chevron d'or, acc. de 3 roses du même.

[3] Critobulus, v. 7 ; Sathas, *Mon. Hist. Hell.* vi. 98 ; Raynaldus, *s.a.*

[4] Verdizzotti, ii. 560 ; Coronelli, *Isolario*, 276.

[5] *Chron. de Jean d'Auton*, ii. 162–193 ; Bosio, ii. 448–51 ; Guglielmotti, *Storia della Marina Pontif.* i. 13.

in 1456, when Cardinal Scarampo garrisoned Thasos, Samothrace and Lemnos. Ducas[1] denies that Mytilene received such assistance and gives a clear account of the positions of the islands. But Mytilene got into trouble with the Turks on the score of complicity with Scarampo, and Molivo was bombarded on that account. Bosio[2] further tells us that the Turks at the taking of Mytilene 'tagliarono à pezzi da 400 Latini che quivi trovarono: fra quali vi furono molti valorosi Caualieri e braui Soldati, che il Gran Maestro e la Religione per Soccorso di quella Citta . . . mandati haueuano.'

FIG. 13.—MYTILENE: HERALDRY AT S. GATE (5, 6, 7).

Built into the bastion on the right of the entrance at the southern end of the castle are the following (5–7. Fig. 13):—

(5) Front of a sarcophagus (?) in white marble bearing in the middle a small spade-shaped shield with the arms of Gattelusi.

(6) Square blue marble panel with Gattelusi arms.

(7) Blue marble block with three square sunk panels containing (*a*) monogram of Palaeologus; (*b*) imperial double eagle bearing a spade-

[1] 338 B. Raynaldus (*s.a.*) distinctly says it was occupied by the Papal troops, cf. *s.a.* 1457. 'Passi sumus ut remaneat sub jurisdictione illius domini, qui eam habet, dummodo stet sub obedientia nostra et sedis apostolicae.' The *Commentaries* of Pius II., however (p. 205), mention only Lemnos, Thasos, and Imbros.

[2] ii. 196.

shaped shield of Gattelusi on the breast in upper corners of panel Я–В; (*c*) eagle walking to l.

This is illustrated in Papageorgiu's *Uned. Inschrr. v. Mytilene* (Pl. V. 35, p. 11), but the artist has not noticed the Gattelusi shield.

(8) In the inner wall of the keep (Tchan-Kulessi), high up, white marble slab divided into three square compartments, which contain (*a*) single-headed[1] spread eagle, (*b*) arms of Palaeologus, (*c*) arms of Gattelusi.

Built into the balustrade of ramp leading to seaward battery (9–11):—

(9) Marble slab divided into two rectangular compartments which contain (*a*) arms of Gattelusi (broken) and (*b*) eagle walking to l.

(10) Old block with fragment of Greek inscription and simple shield of Gattelusi.

(11) White marble sarcophagus-front with spade-shaped shield

FIG. 14.—MYTILENE: ARMS (11) OF GATTELUSI-DORIA.
(Diagram only.)

bearing Gattelusi arms and crowned eagle (walking to dexter) impaled with Palaeologus arms in chief. The supporters are crowned lions rampant. This remarkable piece of heraldry has been described by Conze (*Lesbos*, 5), Newton (i. 354 note), and Boutan (*Arch. des Miss.* v. (1856), 277): Conze's description is, as usual, the most correct (Fig. 14).

(12) A large and nearly entire grey marble sarcophagus, which has served as a cistern, lies behind the mosque. Its face is occupied by two square compartments containing the arms of (*a*) Gattelusi and (*b*) Palaeologus.

There can be hardly any doubt that this is the sarcophagus of Francesco I. and Maria Palaeologina. The other sarcophagus fragments are evidently those of the Gattelusi, though they cannot be attributed to

[1] This was correctly observed by Conze.

individuals owing to the lack of dates. They seem to have been transported from the town as Boutan saw Genoese tombs 'before a khan at the foot of the citadel.' Conze further mentions a sarcophagus lid, with inscription ending 'fecit hedificari.' The building in the citadel which is pointed out as an old church is clearly of Turkish construction.

(13) Inner side of the gate leading to the Saplija battery, white marble slab divided into two square compartments containing the arms of (*a*) Palaeologus and (*b*) Gattelusi.

§ 4.—HERALDRY.

The arms and badges occurring on the Gattelusi monuments are as follows:—

(1) Gattelusi: *papillonné* (or *écaillé*) *d'arg. et d'or.*[1] (Mytilene, Phocaea, Thasos, Aenos, and Samothrace.)

(2) Palaeologus: *de gu. à la croix d'or cantonnée de* 4 *briquets d'or.*[2] (Mytilene.)

(2*a*) Combination of (1) and (2): Gattelusi with Palaeologus in chief. (Aenos and Imbros.)

(3) Spread eagle of the Empire. (Mytilene.)

(3*a*) Combination of (1) and (3): Gattelusi on escutcheon borne by the Imperial eagle. (Mytilene and Phocaea.)

(4) Monogram of Palaeologus.[3] (Mytilene, Phocaea, Samothrace.)

(5) Single-headed crowned eagle walking.[4] (Mytilene (never on coins), Aenos, Samothrace.)

(5*a*) Combination of (1) (2) and (5): Gattelusi impaling (5), Palaeologus in chief. (Mytilene.)

[1] The tinctures are so given by Rhodokanakis, *Ἰουστινιάναι*, 117. The arms given by Rietstap are from a 'MS. source' communicated by R. to *Notes and Queries*, 1868, S. iv. vol. 2, p. 526.

[2] The objects in the field have been taken for (*a*) firesteels, and (*b*) B's forming the device *Σταυρὲ Βασιλέως Βασιλέων Βασιλεῖ βοήθει*. The question is discussed at length by Svoronos in *Journ. Intern.* ii. 1899, 363 ff.; see also P. Lambros in **Παρνασσός**, ii. 396. I believe that they originated as firesteels (the form is not always that of a B in the monuments) and may have been afterwards used as a device. The shield with four B's occurs at Pera (*Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 324).

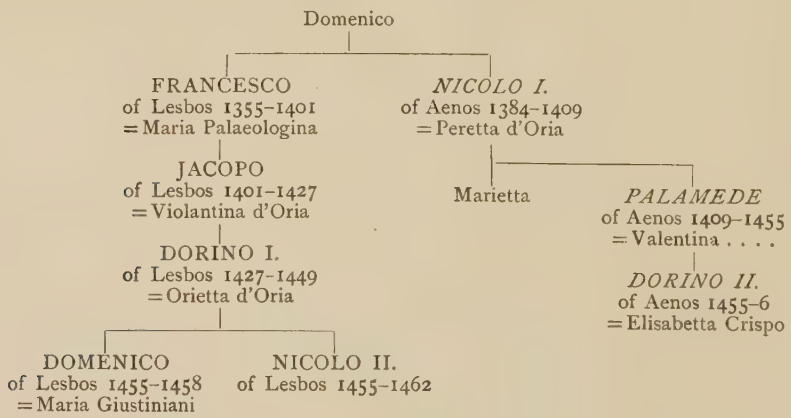
[3] This was formerly interpreted as the monogram of Palamedes, but is proved by the monuments to be that of Palaeologus. It existed on a capital of the 'Palace of the Porphyrogenitus' (Millingen, *Walls of C'sple.*, 113, quoting Bullialdus *ad* Ducae xxxvii. (p. 612 B)), and occurs on a Byzantine coin (*B.M. Catal.* ii. Pl. LXXVII, 3).

[4] This is proved by its occurrence (at Mytilene) side by side with (3) to be no fanciful or ignorant variation of the latter.

The device of a crowned eagle walking needs explanation. It occurs with inscription (1) at Mytilene dated 1373; (2) with inscription at Aenos dated 1394; and (3) twice at Samothrace with inscriptions of Palamede. The same arms occur several times at Pera, and in one instance[1] are proved by inscription to be an early bearing of the Doria of Genoa.[2] Many members of the family of Gattelusi intermarried with the Doria, as a glance at Hopf's table shews.[3] It is probable, especially considering the character of the Mytilene sarcophagus, that the eagle represents the wife's arms. The inscription of Aenos can be assigned with certainty[4] to Nicolò, who married Peretta d'Oria. The maiden name of Palamede's wife is not known, but it is probable that she was also a Doria from the name of their son, Dorino. It would follow that the inscription (1) of Mytilene was set up by a prince who had married into the same family. But Francesco (I), to whom this inscription has been assigned hitherto, married Maria Palaeologina.

§ 5.—THE STEMMA OF THE GATTELUSI.

We come now to the stemma of the Gattelusi drawn up by Hopf. For the sake of clearness its main outlines are here set down:



[1] *Atti Soc. Lig.* xiii. 324 (7) Pl. VII. (1387).

[2] The later arms are *parti d'or et d'az. à un aigle sab. brochant sur le parti.*

[3] Cf. also *Giorn. Lig.* xi. 294 (22) documents of 1439: 'Non ignoramus . . . generosam familiam Auriam ut sanguine ita mutua obsequiorum exibitione esse junctissimam.'

[4] He died in 1409 between Jan. 5 and May 25. Cf. documents in *Giorn. Lig.* i. 218 (8) and 219 (9).

The pedigree is perfectly clear from Dorino I. and Palamede downwards, though some slight additions must be made. The relation of earlier members of the family needs reconsideration.

We shall do best to start from the fixed point given by the Aenos inscription (1) which states that Palamede was the son of Francesco. Now if we assign him to the only Francesco in Hopf's tree, we contradict the testimony of Critobulus, who says in so many words that from Francesco to Dorino II. was four generations: it is obvious moreover, that the supposed reign of Palamede (1409–1455) overlaps on both sides that of Dorino I., who himself died an old man. Further there is good evidence in Codinus[1] for a Francesco II., nephew of Nicolo I. and nephew also of John VI. Palaeologus: the existence of Francesco II. has been accepted by Friedlaender, Finlay, and P. Lambros, though rejected rather arbitrarily by Hopf. The formula in Codinus is proved to indicate Francesco II. not only by the use of *νέον*, but by the relationship of the prince to Nicolo of Aenos and the emperor. The composition was therefore written before 1391 (the year of the death of John VI.), at which date Francesco II. had succeeded his father.

P. Lambros, however, who alone of Hopf's successors has constructed a tree shewing his variation from Hopf, interpolates Francesco II. between Jacopo and Dorino I. This is shewn to be all but impossible by documents, and is in reality only a device to make Jacopo Lord of Mytilene in 1396, since Giovio mentions him by name in connection with the prisoners of Nicopolis; but none of the contemporary writers (Giovio wrote long after the event) mention the name and the only personal detail we can gather from Froissart and Boucicault is that Maria Palaeologina still survived.

If then the discarded Francesco II. is to follow Francesco I. the numerous documents bearing the name of Francesco and extending down to 1409 must be divided between two princes of the name. Lambros gives 1376 for the death of Francesco I. I should prefer a date before 1373, on the strength of the inscription and arms at Mytilene. Francesco I. was certainly dead, as we have seen, by 1391.

We then arrive at the following:—

[1] *de Off.* 415 (forms of address in letters from the Patriarch). (*a*) *Πρὸς τὸν νέον ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ Γατελιοῦζον. Τῷ περιποθήτῳ ἀνεψίῳ τοῦ . . . βασιλέως . . . Φρατζέσκῳ τῷ Γατελιούζῳ.* (*b*) *Πρὸς τὸν ἐν Αἴνῳ θεῖον αὐτοῦ Νικολέζον· τῷ περιποθήτῳ συμπενθέρῳ, κτλ.*

FRANCESCO I.
d. before 1373
|
FRANCESCO II. (Son)
|
PALAMEDE (Son)
(at Aenos)

Next, what was the relationship of Palamede and Dorino? The Burgundian knight Bertrandon de la Brocquière, travelling through Aenos in 1433, says that the then Lord of Aenos was brother to the Lord of Mytilene[1]—that is Palamede and Dorino I. were brothers. This is stated in so many words by a document of 1449.[2] Consequently Dorino also was a son of Francesco II. and presumably older than Palamede, as holding Mytilene. We do not know in what year Francesco II. died: he was apparently living in 1415.[3] Of Jacopo we know only that he was reigning at Mytilene in 1426[4]—the interval 1409–26 is a complete blank—and that Dorino had succeeded him by 1428.[5] It is possible that Dorino and Palamede were infants at the time of their father's death and that Jacopo assumed the government on that account. We have seen that Dorino was ruling Phocaea before his accession in 1423.

We are in similar difficulties with regard to the Aenos house during the period from the death of Nicolo (1409) to the accession of Palamede (before 1430). The one inscription of this period (1413) unfortunately tells us nothing.[6]

To the latter half of the tree some slight additions can be made, viz. Francesco III. son of Dorino and governor of Thasos in 1445[7] and

[1] Bohn's edition, p. 344.

[2] *Giorn. Lig.* v. 349 (37). Similarly Kanavoutzes speaks of the Lords of Mytilene and Aenos as being brothers when he wrote, and he wrote after 1388, since Argos was a Venetian possession (p. 30). The brothers cannot be Francesco I. and Nicolo if the former died in 1373, so we may date Kanavoutzes' work between 1427 and 1449, *i.e.* in the coincident portion of the reigns of Dorino I. and Palamede.

[3] Hopf (*Andros, Zusätze* in *Sitzb. Ak. Wien*, xxi. 1857, 229) mentions a document of 1415 concerning him, in *Misti*, Tom. li, fol. 172 a: the latest document in *Giorn. Lig.* (i. 218 (8)) is dated 1409.

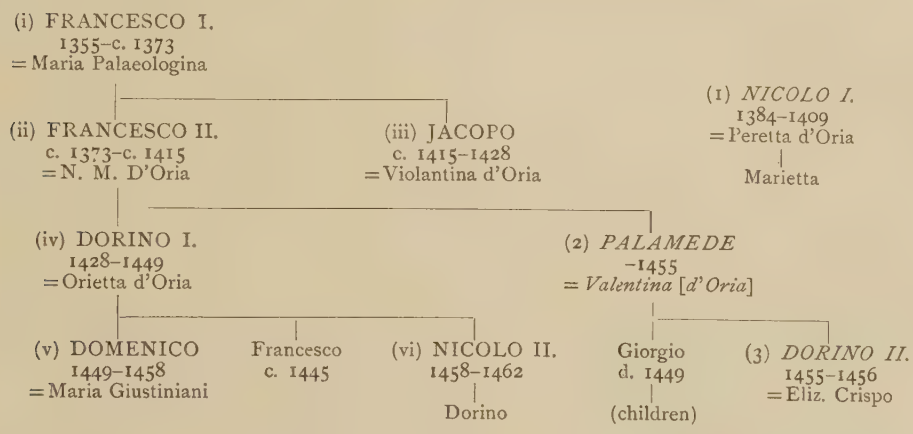
[4] *Ibid.* i. 219 (9).

[5] *Ibid.* ii. 86 (11). Jacopo probably died between May 11 and October 14, 1428, to judge by the titles in documents (10) and (11): in the former the *spectabilis dominus Folie* is dissociated from the *magnificus dominus Mitileni*, while in the latter Dorino takes his title from both cities.

[6] A Nicolo II. of Aenos is mentioned in Rhodokanakis' pedigree of the Coressi (Ἰουστινιάναι, 782) but the date (1346) condemns the authority.

[7] Colucci, *Ant. Picene*, xv. cxxxiii.

Giorgio, elder son of Palamede, who died leaving infant children in 1449.[1] The resulting stemma is :—



F. W. HASLUCK.

NOTE.

While the above was in the press Prof. Lambros has published (Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων, vi. 39 f.) an important Greek fragment which establishes once and for all the accession-dates of Francesco II. (1384) and Jacopo (1404). My argument from the heraldry of the Mytilene inscription is thus proved fallacious. I can only suggest that the Doria arms refer to the Doria connection generally, or to some officer in Francesco I.'s service. For the rest, Jacopo becomes the brother, not the uncle, of Dorino I. and the chronology of the Lesbian house thenceforward is fixed.

In Prof. Lambros' fragment I venture to suggest for the corrupt passage (ll. 9–10) including the meaningless Ἐκσοριομένου the emendation (Νικορέζον αὐθέντην Αἴνου) ἐξωρισμένον [ὑπὸ] τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Φραντζέσκου · καὶ μαθὼν ἐκεῖσε . . . κατέλαβε; the omission of ὑπό is easily accounted for by haplography, and the other changes are merely in punctuation.

F. W. H.

[1] Critobulus and document, *Giorn. Lig.* v. 349 (38).

FRANKISH REMAINS AT ADALIA.

THE city of Adalia on the Caramanian coast, still a very fine example of a mediaeval walled town, has been thrice attempted by western arms and was for twelve years garrisoned by the French kings of Cyprus.

It was taken by Gautier de Montbeliard early in the reign of Hugues I. Lusignan (1205–18) but hurriedly abandoned.[1] The warlike Pierre I. captured it in 1361 and it was held till 1373, when his successor, Pierre II. surrendered it. Lastly the 'Crusaders' of Mocenigo's expedition in 1472 stormed and sacked the seaward quarter but were unable to make good their footing. The surviving Frankish monuments must be attributed to the second Cypriote period.

The events of these twelve years are given in some detail by Machaeras[2] as follows:—

1361 (Aug 24). Adalia taken by Pierre I. in person. Sir Jaques de Norès left in command and repulses a Turkish attack in April.

1362 (May 9). Jean de Sur, governor; he sacks Myra and carries off the picture of St. Nicolas to Famagusta.

? Jean (*al.* Thomas) Carmadin, captain, and repulses a Turkish attack, but, dying of plague,

1363 is succeeded by his son Jean.

1367 Leon (*al.* Lucas) d'Antiaume, captain.

(May 26). Mutiny of troops at Adalia. Thomas de Montolif de Cliron sent as captain.

[1368 Murder of Pierre I. Accession of Pierre II.]

[1] Mas-Latrie, *Île de Chypre*, 212.

[2] Ed. Miller and Sathas, pp. 68–200; cf. Strambaldi, ed. Mas-Latrie 47–149

1369 Thomas (*al.* Jean) de Collies, captain, replaced the same year by Sir Eustache Passanto di Bethsan, who commanded till

1373 Surrender of Adalia to the Turks: the Greek inhabitants removed to Cyprus.

Both the stones described below are preserved at the barracks, where every facility was courteously allowed me by the officer in command.

I. White marble slab, ·90 m. high, ·93 broad, ·13 thick, bearing a shield of arms within tressure of four arches and four points, the whole within a moulded frame; in the two upper corners are heraldic roses, in the

FIG. 1.—ARMS OF PIERRE I. LUSIGNAN.

FIG. 2.—ARMS OF LUSIGNAN AND NEVILE (?).

two lower quatrefoils. The shield bears Quarterly, first and fourth (arg.) a cross potence (or), cantonny of four crosslets (of the same)[1]—Jerusalem: second and third barruly (arg. and az.), a lion (gu.) armed and crowned (or) —Lusignan de Chateauneuf.

This shield agrees perfectly with the arms of Pierre I. as engraved by Coronelli,[2] after the now vanished fresco of the Palazzo Cornaro, where the king once lodged. It is the sole contemporary record of these earlier arms,

[1] The crosses like the human heads on (2) seem to have been intentionally defaced.

[2] In his map of Cyprus (*Atlante Veneto*, vol. ii. pt. 1, *Isolario*).

since the coins of Pierre I. give only the Lusignan coat. The arms of Cyprus were added to the shield in 1395 with those of Armenia.[1]

2. Weathered marble 1·05 m. high, ·57 broad, ·20 thick, with two shields: (*a*) the upper bears the arms of Lusignan and is surmounted by a trefoil arch ending in stags' heads. In the central bay are battered remains of a conventional head with side-curls. The sides of the shield are encircled by two arms clothed in tight buttoned under-sleeves to the wrist with a loose falling oversleeve from the elbow. In the upper corners above the extremities of the arch are small shields bearing (*l.*) a sword downwards, (*r.*) the arms of Jerusalem.

(*b*) The lower shield is *lozengy*, and is decorated in a similar manner with head above (much battered) and encircled by arms.

The small shield (az.) bearing an upright sword (arg.[2]) is of particular interest as commemorating the military Order of the Sword founded by Pierre I. The arms of the Order appeared with those of the king on the Palazzo Cornaro, the sword being placed over the arms of Cornaro, and the device 'Pour loyauté maintenir' written on a scroll placed diagonally across the shield.[3]

Both these slabs seem to have been removed from the town walls. As to slab (1) Le Bruyn[4] noted the arms of Jerusalem over a gate leading from the harbour into the town, and Cockerell, who visited Adalia with Beaufort in 1812, speaks of a gate towards the sea of Frankish work with mutilated arms and inscriptions[5]: the main harbour-gate has been destroyed.

Slab (2) is undoubtedly the one drawn by Capt. Beaufort under difficulties and very incorrectly.[6] He describes its position as 'high up, in the face of a square tower through which there is a gateway,' and engraves an inscription—. . . L . HTOL | . . RBRIE (possibly the date with the day of the month OCTOBRIS added)—which he saw 'on a small adjacent tablet.' Sir Charles Wilson about 1880 saw 'the coat of arms of a Genoese or

[1] Mas-Latrie, *Notice sur les Monnaies et les Sceaux des Rois de Chypre*, p. 421 (*Bibl. Éc. Chartes*, Série I. vol. v.).

[2] The tinctures of the shield of the order are from the contemporary Guillaume de Machaut quoted by Mas-Latrie, p. 421.

[3] Coronelli, *loc. cit.*; cf. Favyn, *Théatre d'Honneur*, p. 1566. With these should perhaps be connected the shield on an Armenian tombstone at Nicosia given by Langlois (*Num. d'Arménie*, p. 40), which bears a drawn sword, a pilgrim's scrip, and six bezants.

[4] (Ed. of Paris, 1724) ii. 523.

[5] *Travels*, p. 174.

[6] *Caramania*, pp. 106 (vignette to ch. vi.) and 121.

Venetian knight[1]' in a tower 'near the bazaars.' The old inner gate leading to the Bazaar quarter has been recently removed and appears to have been a single tower. It was to this point that I was first escorted in my search for the stone.

Considering the number of names which have come down to us, it is unfortunate that the lozengy coat cannot be definitely attributed to one or other of Pierre I.'s captains, two of whom, Jaques de Norès and Jean de Sur, are known to have repaired the walls of Adalia.[2] The coat itself is known to have been borne by a certain Johan de Neviles, seigneur d'Arsuf, who died 1390,[3] and may have been identical with the Jean de Sur of Machaeras.

The only other Frankish monument surviving at Adalia seems to be a battered fragment (of a sarcophagus ?) built into a dry fountain near the Ruchdié school : it bears two shields with rampant lions to dexter.

Much Cypriote heraldry has evidently been destroyed in recent times. Savary de Brèves in 1605 noted arms with crosses, lions rampant, and fleurs-de-lis,[4] and at the sea-gate, statues of St. John and of a bishop (probably St. Nicholas). De Beauvau early in the same century mentions 'armoiries chargées de Croix' on several gates, and in particular ('ce que je n'ay pas voulu passer soub silence') a scutcheon with the cross of Jerusalem and three allerions.[5] Luke in 1668 saw 'over severall of the gates, whether of the Citty or of its appartments, some coat-armour of Christians,'[6] and Lucas, in his third voyage, saw Frankish (apparently Cypriote) arms in the church now called Djumanun Djamisi.[7]

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[1] Murray's *Handbook to Asia Minor*, p. 123.

[2] Machaeras, pp. 66, 69.

[3] Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossienses*, i. 150, Pl. X. 147; cf. Pl. IX. 137. Mas-Latrie in *L'Île de Chypre*, p. 372, No. 62, gives a note on *Arsuf*, which is frequently confounded with *Azot; Johannes de Nivillis dominus de Azoto* is mentioned in a document of 1390.

[4] *Voyage*, 1628, p. 23.

[5] *Voyage*, 1615, p. 86. The coat evidently attracted his attention as a Lorrainer, since both bearings occur in the coat of the Dukes of Lorraine; and a bearing identical with that of the house of Lorraine (or, a bend gu. charged with three allerions arg.) occurs in Cyprus on the tomb of a Lady Marguerite Fardin (Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossienses*, p. 156, Pl. XXVIII).

[6] MS. *Harl.* 7021, f. 378 *verso*. [7] Ed. Amsterdam, 1724, i. 244.

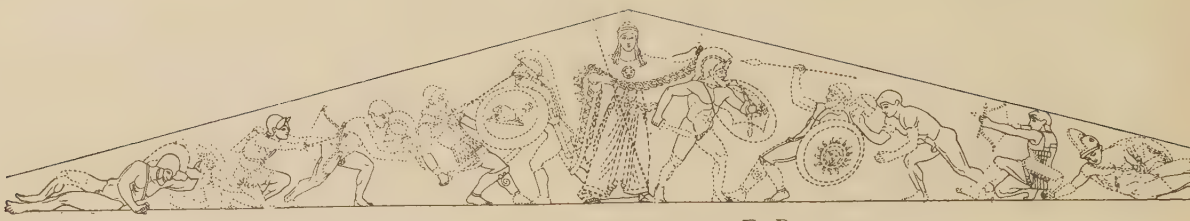


Fig. 1.—The Restorations in the E. Pediment.

(Restorations indicated by dotted lines.)

THE EAST PEDIMENT SCULPTURES OF THE TEMPLE OF APHAIA AT AEGINA.

Plate XIX.)

At the Archaeological Congress[1] which met at Athens in 1905 one of the most interesting sittings was that at which Furtwängler gave a brilliant exposition of his reconstitution of the Pediment Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina, the result of his recent excavations in the island. Those who were present on that occasion were profoundly struck by an arrangement of the groups calculated to inspire the noble marbles with so much new and vivid life; in regard, however, to the grouping of the figures of the East Pediment there are said to have been not a few dissentient voices. This dissent related more especially to the disposal of the central groups right and left of the Athena and, in a particular way, to the falling pose given to the wounded hero on either side. The considerations that first awakened doubt at the Congress were, naturally enough in the circumstances, of a vague aesthetic character. In the case of life-size sculpture in the round, belonging still to the archaic period, it was instinctively felt that the pose was wrong; people were hardly prepared for so exaggerated a divergence from the position of stable equilibrium as that proposed by Furtwängler, and the object of my paper is to try to show that the doubts, then either felt or expressed, were justified in fact. My

[1] None who were present then could have foreseen that the work in Aegina was to be Furtwängler's last great achievement in archaeological science, and that many of the audience were then listening to him for the last time.

conclusions are embodied in the attempted reconstruction of the pediment shown in Pl. XIX. A.[1]

Many then present may have reflected at the moment, or realized later, that the aesthetic considerations that had appealed to them then had their ample justification in the practice of the time. It is an undoubted historical fact that in Greek plastic art of the period, no true parallel can be instanced for this extreme exaggeration of unstable equilibrium in the pose of these figures. Furtwängler himself, it is true, admits this, but at the same time he cites examples of a similar pose from Attic black- and red-figured vase-painting which, in origin, may go back to the imitation of the monumental wall-painting of the period.[2] Considering, however, the significant lack of any parallel evidence from contemporary sculpture in the round, the analogy from painting should not have been quite so misleading as I venture to think it has proved in this case. It must be remembered that sculpture in the round was confronted by the necessity of finding a practical solution for an extremely difficult static problem which had absolutely no existence for painting in the flat. This practical difficulty may reasonably be regarded as in itself the explanation of the significant fact that vase-painting presents us so frequently with this particular falling pose, while it is entirely lacking in the sculpture of the same age. Not only so, but we find that in this respect, the practice of the great classic era of sculpture was in entire harmony with the tradition of an earlier time. It thus results that historical experience only tends to confirm the aesthetic considerations referred to, instead of showing them up as a mere subjective feeling with no justification in fact.

But now to the facts themselves that more concern us here. It had been my good fortune, in 1905 and again in 1906, to admire and study at Munich the finished outcome of Furtwängler's labours at Aegina. The sum total was there seen, embodied in the figurine groups which represent the reconstitution of the pediment sculptures as first rendered possible by these discoveries. These figurine groups are the originals of Plates 104, 105, 106 of the work on Aegina; Fig. 1, in which all the restored portions

[1] For the drawing of this reconstruction I have to thank the skill and artistic insight of Mr. Theodore Fyfe, who, at intervals, during more than three years, has devoted much self-sacrificing zeal to the working out of the design as it now stands. Some slight modifications, the result of later observations at Munich, were kindly inserted for me at Constantinople by Mr. Walter George.

[2] *Aegina*, 343–6; Figs. 272–7.

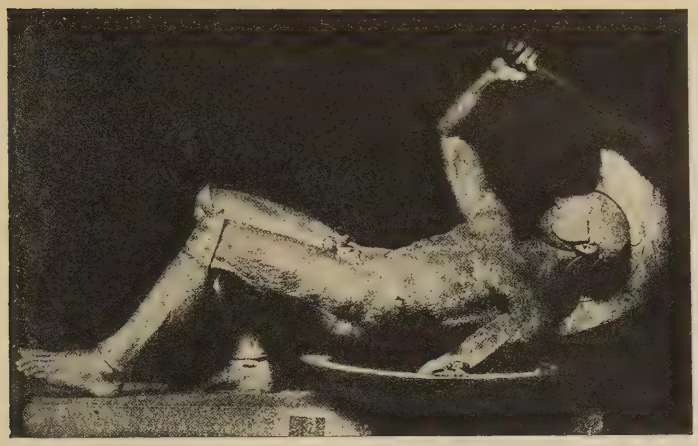
are marked by dotted lines, shows how much remains of the original figures in the East Pediment, and is here reproduced, by special permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, from the *Guide to the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.* The falling figures of the East Pediment whose pose had awakened so much doubt at the Congress at Athens are D and H on Pl. XIX. B.[1]

Thorwaldsen, as it happens, restored one of these figures, that to the left of the Athena, as already fallen and lying on his back on the ground. Let us now consider this pose. (Fig. 2.)

The possibility of the falling position proposed by Furtwängler probably did not occur to Thorwaldsen at all. If it did, we can be sure it was not, in the first place, for aesthetic reasons that it was not preferred. Rather it was because the torso afforded the sculptor indications as to its pose, which in such cases usually escape the notice of the archaeologist. Is there positive evidence that there actually were just such indications of pose as would naturally appeal to the practised eye of a sculptor and were likely to escape the attention of the archaeologist? If so, we shall not be far wrong in concluding that this was, in its nature, one of those special instances in which, for once, the artist was right and the archaeologist wrong. It is more than probable indeed, that the pose given by the restorer happened to be independent of any special archaeological knowledge regarding the traditions of plastic usage in the Archaic Period in Greece. In that case we shall only have the greater reason to trust the artist's special knowledge and judgment in favour of the recumbent position.

It is necessary to go somewhat into detail. In deciding as to the profile positions, right or left, of the statues in these pediments, Furtwängler has rightly attached special importance to the indications as to pose afforded by the weathering of the exposed parts of the figures. In doing so, there is, however, one thing, I think, which he has not appreciated with sufficient precision. This is the extraordinary difference between the kind of smooth weathering produced by north winds and the peculiar corrosion of the surface of the marble produced by the south wind alone.

[1] I have warmly to thank Prof. Paul Wolters for his kind mediation with the Munich Academy of Sciences, which has secured for me permission to reproduce this and other illustrations from *Aegina.* I am also indebted to Mr. Arthur H. Smith, Keeper of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, for kindly obtaining permission for the reproduction here of Fig. 1.



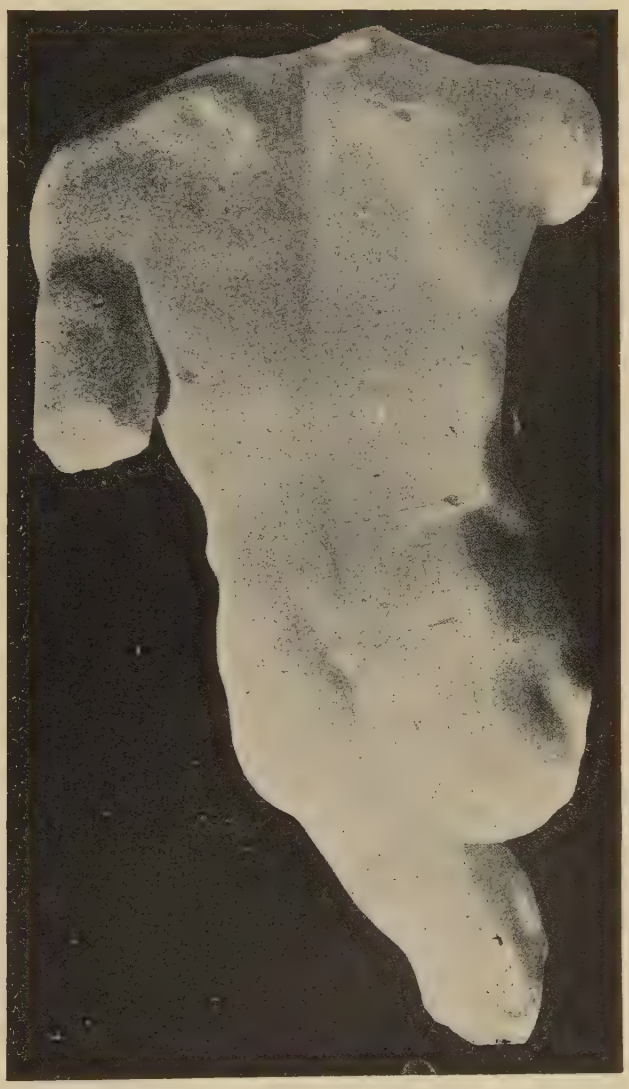


Fig. 2.—Figure of a Warrior as restored by Thorwaldsen

Figs. 3, 4.—Front and Back View of the Unrestored Torso of the Warrior shown in Fig. 2.

Thus to come to our statue as shown in Fig. 2 (after *Aegina*, Pl. 95, 77): the corrosion on the left side of the body and extending towards the back, is perfectly natural here if the figure is conceived in agreement with Thorwaldsen's reconstruction. In that case the figure reclines horizontally on its back, and faces the south in such a way that the left side of the body would have been necessarily exposed to the full side-long force of the corrosive south wind. In this position too, the trickling down of the briny rain brought by the south wind, and the impregnation of the marble with the solutions of salt left behind through evaporation, would in itself account for the continuation of the corrosion towards the back. The horizontal position of the front of the body also afforded some protection against the full force of the south wind. It did not allow of the trickle of rain on the gently curving surfaces, and the corrosion here is accordingly much less marked than on the exposed left side. This peculiar intensification of the corrosion of the left side and the comparatively smooth weathering and good preservation of the front of the torso are, on the other hand, inexplicable with a falling pose of the figure in profile left, as proposed by Furtwängler.[1] This pose with the large shield held as it is in the model requires a considerable corrosion of the front of the body, which on this reconstruction would have been exposed to the full force of the south wind. There would have been no intensification of the corrosion towards the left side behind. Moreover the upper part of the left side protected by the shield should not have been corroded at all. As a matter of fact, however, there is considerable corrosion in the region extending from the left nipple to the shoulder. Furtwängler himself seems to have been conscious of this contradiction between the actual corrosion on the left side of the torso and the kind of corrosion which his reconstruction requires, but he gets over the difficulty by the suggestion that a considerable intensification of the weathering on the left side of the body towards the back occurred while the torso was in the earth.[2] But the peculiar intensification of the corrosion is best explained by the trickling down of the briny rain-water over the exposed side. The surface of the marble then became impregnated with the salt left behind in the process of evaporation; its solvent action on the surface was a process that went on under the influence of

[1] *Aegina*, Fig. 173, H; pp. 244–8; Figs. 198–202.

[2] 'An der linken Körperseite der Figur nach dem Rücken zu ist die Witterung nachträglich in der Erde erheblich verstärkt' (p. 248).

later weathering through wind and rain from other quarters, while the statue was still *in situ*. Any weathering that took place in the earth was really a continuation of the same process; that is to say, it was a disintegration, through damp, of surfaces impregnated with solutions of brine through exposure in position to the influence of the south winds and rains. The splashing of rain from the plinth is a further factor that has to be taken into account in the case of reclining figures.[1] In complete contrast to all this, it is rather significant to find that no parts of figures not having this special exposure show any trace of this particular kind of corrosion.

Furtwängler is farther puzzled by the fact that on the left breast of this figure there is 'eine wenig corrodirte Stelle.' This, in the natural course of things, would not have been the case were his reconstruction right, as this part would then have been exposed to the corroding influence of the south wind. He would account for the lack of corrosion by the interrogative suggestion: 'vielleicht war hier einmal ein Vogelnest das schützte?' Had the figure been reconstructed as reclining horizontally on the ground front up, there would have been no difficulty whatever in explaining the lack of corrosion. In such a position this part had more than a partial protection against the corrosive influence of the south wind, through its slope away and down towards the shoulder. This gave it a northern exposure instead of the southern one which it would have had on Furtwängler's reconstruction.

An extension of the corrosion of the left side may be taken for granted for the whole exposed part of the left shin. This particular instance of the probable effect of corrosion would, it is true, be applicable to Furtwängler's as well as to Thorwaldsen's pose, so far as the position of the missing part of the left leg from the knee down is concerned. But in the upward direction for which we have the real evidence, all agreement ends at the knee. Here the front of the thigh is much less corroded than it should have been in accordance with Furtwängler's exposed position of it; on the other hand it is quite as little corroded as was to be expected in the much more protected position presupposed by Thorwaldsen's restoration. In relation to the influence of the south wind the unprotected part of the thigh was the outside towards the back. This is borne out very clearly by the strongly marked corrosion at that part. The same

[1] Compare the statue in the north corner of the West Pediment.

tilt-up of the knee that brought the front of the thigh into shelter from the south wind exposed the outside, towards the back, to its full force. This double phenomenon is, on the other hand, quite inexplicable with a falling pose of the figure and a position of the thigh like that seen in Furtwängler's reconstruction. (H. Pl. XIX. B.)

It is a pity that we cannot safely assume that Thorwaldsen was aware of the bearing of this subtlety of weathering. Unfortunately, however, his mistake about the position of the Herakles, which has now been set right by Furtwängler, makes this seem doubtful. He placed the Herakles in the south wing of the pediment near the corner, in profile right, and so looking north. He did this notwithstanding a corrosion of the face that could only have been produced through its looking south. Even his artistic insight seems to have gone wrong here, for he has ignored the greater working out of details on the left side of the figure, which confirmed the evidence furnished by the strong corrosion of the face. The example of a statue which has been assigned its true place in the north wing of the pediment by Furtwängler is of special interest here. The weathering on the outside of the left thigh of this figure, which is intensified on the left or exposed outside of the knee, presents a complete analogy to that of the somewhat similarly placed thigh of Thorwaldsen's recumbent figure.

This corrosion of the thigh is only the prolongation of that of the left side already discussed. Both present a startling contrast to the smooth, unweathered, almost perfectly preserved surface of the protected under side towards the right, and away from the unprotected outer edge of the plinth, in the direction of the tympanum. This observation applies with special aptness to the back of the torso. Its excellent preservation and unweathered surface can hardly be accounted for unless by the exceptional protection afforded to it, in a recumbent position, through its juxtaposition to the plinth. It is a significant fact, not to be left out of account, that this special unweathered character of the surface is repeated in all parts of figures having the same recumbent pose and juxtaposition to the plinth and tympanum.[1]

Here, however, we come to a fact about this torso which must have determined for Thorwaldsen, as a sculptor, the recumbent pose he gave to

[1] Compare the under side of the reclining warrior (Glypt. 85) in the same pediment and of all the reclining figures in the West Pediment.

the figure. This fact, curiously enough, seems to have escaped the vigilant eye of Furtwängler.

If we examine the torso closely either in the original, in Furtwängler's Fig. 199, or in our Figs. 3 and 4,[1] we cannot fail to notice a peculiar hitch-up, out of the horizontal line, of the left breast and shoulder. How are we to explain this? Only, I think, on the supposition that the left arm was supported from below. In other words, we have to suppose that the arm either rested at the elbow on the ground or, as is more likely, that it was supported in a resting position above the ground, by the help of the shield. This probably lay flat on the ground as in Thorwaldsen's reconstruction. Its position is fully warranted by the outward tendency of the biceps muscle shown by the part of the arm preserved (Fig. 3). It is, further, in harmony with the fact that, where the exigencies of combat do not interfere, the shield is usually not allowed to compromise the visibility of the figure. It is important likewise to note that at one point the transition to the arm from the torso is preserved, and this forms a rather abrupt curve outwards which agrees with the outward inclination of the biceps muscle. Thorwaldsen has rightly placed the lower part of this in a position to fit in with the corresponding outward inclination of the existing upper part. The transitions from the upper to the lower part of the muscle have been well observed; thus we find that the rather flat surfaces of the inner side of the lower part of the biceps muscle are kept in the same plane with those of the upper part. This is attached to the torso so that the outward inclination of the lower half necessarily results from the outward turn of the upper half of the muscle. The middle part is restored, but the lower part as far as the transition to the elbow is preserved. This shows a swell of the muscle and a strong turn outwards, which confirm the indications afforded by the upper part of the arm. The prominent vein which inclines so markedly outwards on the upper part of the muscle shows the same outward inclination on the lower part. This has been quite finely observed by Thorwaldsen in his restoration of the intermediate missing part.

In agreement with these indications let us once more return to the peculiar hitch-up of the left breast and shoulder already referred to. It is

[1] Fig. 3 is after a special photograph placed at my disposal through the great courtesy of Prof. Wolters; Fig. 4 is after *Aegina*, Fig. 199.

this hitch-up which produces the very pronounced asymmetry of the chest in front, and the prominent rounding of the left shoulder above. The whole is quite naturally and adequately explained if it belongs to a reclining figure leaning on the left elbow, which is below it. On the other hand, both are quite inexplicable, if, like Furtwängler, we conceive a figure falling backwards, and suppose a sinking position of the left arm from which the shield is just on the point of dropping. Such a position of the left arm is thus in clear contradiction with the hitch-up of the left breast and shoulder so characteristic of the torso.

Yet another circumstance. A glance at the back of the torso shows that the phenomenon noted in front is repeated behind. This indeed is very clearly observable in Fig. 4. The upper edge of the left shoulder-blade appears hitched up out of its normal position in relation to the right one, in a manner which admits of only one explanation: it could only be caused by the lean on the elbow of a figure lying on the ground. The prominence of the edge of the shoulder-blade next the spine, with the hitch towards the backbone as well as up in the direction of the neck, is equally convincing. It brings the angle of the blade here into sharp contrast with the corresponding more softly undulating contours of the right shoulder-blade. Again, the emphasis on the hollows in the middle region of the blade, to indicate compression, is a subtlety of plastic treatment which tells a story of its own. It can only be explained through the lean on the left arm of a body which, at the same time, was turned somewhat in the direction of its own left and towards the spectator.

There is one detail remarked on by Furtwängler, at the top of page 247, which is of paramount importance in deciding this question as to whether our statue was in a falling or in a recumbent position. The necessary suggestion underlying Furtwängler's reasoning is that the treatment of this detail is decisive for a falling pose, as such. No room at all is left for the alternative possibility that it is the recumbent pose of our statue that really conditions the treatment. And yet when we come to the real facts what do we find? Far from the treatment being decisive for a falling pose it presupposes a recumbent position. In such a position the hitch-up of the thighs with the right somewhat higher than the left, and the inclination of the body somewhat towards its own left side, are concomitant moments in the pose not to be left

out of account. And it was these which, for artists like those of the East Pediment, determined absolutely what, with such a pose, was the natural rendering of this organ. It is this complex pose that really explains the peculiar tilted disposition and leftward inclination of the 'Hoden' remarked upon by Furtwängler, but inadequately described by him as 'recht lose und etwas angezogen nicht schlaff hängend.' It is thus quite misleading to refer this latter peculiarity, as Furtwängler does, 'zu den allgemeinen Stilgewohnheiten der Epoche, die auch auf den attischen Vasen zu bemerken ist.' The characteristic tilt-up of the 'Hoden,' far from finding any adequate explanation in the general practice of the time, is a necessary deduction from the recumbent pose of a figure lying front upward and with upward inclination of the thighs. So much is this so, that it is entirely in harmony with the analogous and variant treatment of the organ in all the other reclining figures of these pediments. The slight but distinctly noticeable inclination to the left side is similarly to be explained: it follows partly from the greater hitch-up of the right thigh, partly from the slight turn of the recumbent figure towards its own left side. A detail in treatment, which has been apparently overlooked by Furtwängler but was observed by Thorwaldsen, brings out the cogency of this explanation in a still clearer light: the part of this organ next the torso is intact, and this shows on the under side a very noticeable bend up, and at the same time towards, the left side of the figure. This can only be explained respectively from the recumbent pose of the body front up, and the turn, already referred to, towards the left side. The detail, in itself a trifling one, is thus one more justification of Thorwaldsen's reconstruction.

Furtwängler, p. 247, as an argument in favour of his reconstruction, makes much of the dowel-hole noted and drawn by Haller, and visible on the back of the cast of the unrestored torso (Fig. 4) under the left shoulder-blade. On consideration, however, it turns out that such a dowel-hole is quite as conveniently available for the use to which Thorwaldsen put it as for that to which, on my view, Furtwängler has misapplied it. We must bear in mind that in the case of a recumbent figure, its visibility above the plinth, as looked at from the terrace of the temple, was a consideration sure to weigh with the sculptors. We can thus at once understand the motive for showing the body in a somewhat raised position, with no part of the torso touching the plinth. In such a position the extra

support afforded by a bar of bronze would be an advantage. On the other hand its concealment behind the left arm would prevent it from being visible to the spectator. In these circumstances we can well appeal to the support of aesthetic reasons in favour of a quite invisible, short support for the recumbent figure. There are equally strong aesthetic objections to the long and very noticeable bronze bar required by Furtwängler's reconstruction. The position of the dowel-hole, so much to one side under the left shoulder-blade, is adequately explained by a peculiarity in the pose already noted. In the recumbent position the figure was turned somewhat towards its own left side and to the spectator; but in a falling figure this particular inclination of the body towards the

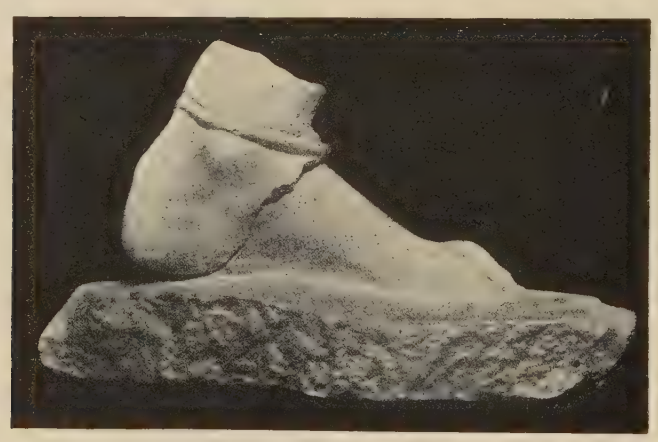


FIG. 5.—LEFT FOOT OF WARRIOR G IN FURTWÄNGLER'S RESTORATION.

spectator does not exist, and thus the position of the dowel-hole, so far away from the centre of gravity, becomes inexplicable.

Granted now that the torso which we have been discussing belonged to a recumbent figure, the necessity at once arises for a new opponent to the warrior (in profile right, to the left hand of the Athena) who appears as Furtwängler's G.[1] This figure would represent the comrade and avenger of the fallen hero. To it would then belong the left foot (shown in Fig. 5, after *Aegina*, Fig. 200), and made up of fragments 78 and 79. In other

[1] Pl. XIX. B. This new opponent would in turn have a double, symmetrically corresponding to him in the south wing of the pediment. Thus reckoning the total of figures to be thirteen as in the West Pediment, Furtwängler's warrior G would be our H, and so on.

words, the foot in question does not belong to a falling figure at all, but to a figure having an inclination of the body forward as in deadly combat.[1]

Here, however, an initial difficulty of a very serious character occurs in any reconstruction which assigns the left foot shown in Fig. 5 to our new combatant K. The foot requires that the left leg should be in the rear, and the assignment involves a pose which represents the combatant as striding forward with the right leg in advance. The arrangement would thus contradict a very common canon in archaic art which makes figures in combat usually appear with the *left* leg in advance. While, however, this is true in a general way, it would be unsafe to assume that the strictly canonical pose in combat admitted of no exceptions, since exceptions do occur in archaic art. Indeed the exceptions are often found to be caused by circumstances which justify them in one way or another.

The following consideration is of paramount importance. In an arrangement of combatants in pairs, the combatant in profile right, with left leg in advance, has the front of the body towards the spectator. On the other hand, the combatant in profile left, and also with left leg in the advance position, has his back turned towards the onlooker. Now, in archaic art there is no doubt that, other things being equal, the front view of the human figure was regarded as aesthetically preferable to the back view. Archaic art, indeed, down to the very mature period to which our pediment belongs, felt much more strongly about the matter than did the art of a later time which was less trammelled by profile positions. The desire to represent an action clearly was apt, in certain circumstances, to come into conflict with the canonical pose. This was particularly so in the profile pose to the left, which brought the back of the figure into view instead of the front. Thus it has come about that, while for figures in profile right, the left leg is usually advanced, this is not nearly so often true of figures in profile left. In this case we often see the right leg in the advance position instead of the left. The intention of the earlier

[1] Furtwängler, p. 245, says of this foot: 'die Stellung ist für einen Ausschreitenden unmöglich. But he thus seems to be instinctively warding off the possibility of an alternative which he is apprehensive may occur to the mind of his reader. He further says of the torso of our fallen hero in relation to his falling pose: 'Der Winkel in welchen das linke Knie gebogen war, ist hier glücklicherweise erhalten.' The suggestion, of course, is that there is a necessary connection between the left foot and the knee in question. But as the intervening leg-calf is missing the connection suggested is by no means established.

stages of archaic art was clearly to compromise the strict archaic canon for the sake of bringing the front of the body into greater visibility. If then the left foot belongs to a figure in profile left with the right leg in advance, we should here have an instance in point, surviving into the most mature archaic period. The circumstances of the case, indeed, make it difficult to urge objections to an exception to the rule based on considerations which are shown, by many examples, to have appealed strongly to the archaic artist. In the earlier stages of archaic artistic development, it is true, the contradictions that arose as an outcome of such compromises were manifold. In course of time, however, the contradictions tend to vanish, through the gradual artistic realization of special circumstances which justified exceptions to the rigid canonical rule. Besides, not only the artist, but every spectator could feel with the military expert of the time, that the rigid canon only corresponded to one of the many positions of the limbs possible in the heat of real combat.

The front view of the body was really preferred by archaic art to the back view. But granted all this, the artist realized in course of time how to eliminate inconsistencies by choosing an action which made the favourite front view also the natural one. It became so because it represented the satisfactory solution of an artistic problem which had long interested the vase-painter. We may safely assume that it also interested the contemporary wall-painter and the monumental sculptor in relief and in the round.

Here, however, it is convenient to point out that the pose given by Furtwängler to his falling figure involves, for the immediately preceding moment, an advance position of the right leg. In other words, before the falling warrior was wounded, his immediately preceding pose was one in which he is conceived as fighting with his *right* leg in advance. Therefore if we regard the foot shown in Fig. 5 as belonging, not to a falling figure, but to a warrior striding forward in the heat of combat, we have the same advance position of the right leg presupposed as a previous moment in the pose of Furtwängler's falling figure. Elsewhere, it is true, in these pediments Furtwängler has analogous figures of combatants in profile left with left leg in advance, and with a back view of the figure. These instances cannot, however, be urged against our reconstruction so far as the relative positions of the legs are concerned, since, as I have suggested, it is the position presupposed as

a previous moment in the pose Furtwängler gives to his falling warrior. This is proved by the very examples brought forward in *Aegina*, pages 343–5, Figs. 272–6, to justify the falling pose; but far from justifying it these examples serve to show that, in falling back, the wounded warrior on the vase, in his new position, keeps the same leg in the same advance position as while still attacking. This is so whether the leg in advance is the right one or the left. In other words, in the change from the attacking to the falling pose the relative position of the legs is not shifted. Thus it happens that the vase-pictures shown in Figs. 272 and 274, and brought forward by Furtwängler in support of the falling pose, afford much better evidence in favour of the profile position with right leg in advance. In the immediately preceding moment the warriors on the vases were hitting out with the right leg in advance, precisely like our warrior.

The kind of pose and attitude suggested is indeed well illustrated by one of the vase-paintings cited by Furtwängler himself, the kylix by Duris, *Aegina*, Fig. 273 (after *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, vii. 3 [1]). The figure is on the left-hand side of the picture. It represents a combatant in profile left, and with the right leg in advance. The reason of the pose is best realized by looking at the picture as given in the *Vorlegeblätter*. We see that the warrior is fighting with a sword, and that this is swung back high up to the left of the helmeted head, so as to allow the face to be visible below the arm. The warrior is apparently on the point of hitting a stroke against his opponent obliquely down from left to right. Now, as a matter of fencing, this can only be done efficiently with the right leg in the advance position, and it will be found on trial that for a feat of this kind the left leg cannot be in advance. The reason is that this position does not give enough free scope for the initial leftward swing of the arm, and for the axial movement of the body and arm left and then right, required by this particular stroke.

What we find then is this. The profile-left pose with the right leg advanced is something traditional and of very frequent occurrence in archaic art. Given then the pose and the archaic preference for it, we find that in course of time the initial inconsistencies caused by the pose tend to disappear. By the period in vase-painting to which the Duris picture belongs, the pose with the front view of the body secured by means of it is justified and made entirely natural by the sword-stroke referred to. Indeed

[1] Furtwängler's vi. is a misprint.

at this stage in vase-painting, the profile-left pose with right leg in advance, front view of the torso and the sword-stroke from left down to right, is of such frequency that it may be regarded as a very favourite motive.[1]

The net result of the inquiry so far is as follows:—(1) In harmony with Thorwaldsen's reconstruction, the warrior to the left hand of the Athena in this pediment is represented as having wounded one opponent who is lying on the ground. (2) At the moment represented, this same warrior is engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with a second opponent, the comrade of the fallen hero. (3) In the reconstruction of his falling figure Furtwängler has combined elements which do not properly belong together. Thus, as we have seen, the torso (Fig. 3) belongs to the statue of the fallen hero, while the foot (Fig. 5) is assigned by us to the new opponent K. Much less is therefore preserved of the figure representing this warrior K than Furtwängler claims for the figure of his falling warrior. On the other hand, it is probable that we shall ultimately be able partially to make up for this despoilment by assigning to him no less important a feature than the head shown in Fig. 6 which has been relegated by Furtwängler, quite wrongly, as I think, to a different figure in quite another part of the pediment. (Pl. XIX. A.)

From the views put forward very important consequences follow as to the meaning of the action of the camp-follower next to the right, who on our reconstruction figures as L. For if one combatant was really represented as wounded and in a recumbent position, while a second opponent has taken his place in the fight, it is clear that the interpretation of the action of the camp-follower must be modified accordingly. The action of this camp-follower in his dart forward is different according as we conceive him as trying to rescue the arms of a falling warrior, or those of one already fallen. And it is distinctly significant that, if this action is regarded dispassionately, the moment represented will be found to involve a perfectly simple act of attention, undividedly directed to an object in front, only slightly raised above the level of the ground. The forward movement of the body is, in this respect, in entire harmony with the downward inclination of the face and direction of the glance, and all afford perfectly precise indications as to the position to be presupposed for the object of attention. On the other hand,

[1] For other examples see Furtwängler-Reichold, *Serie I.* Tafel 26, 55, 58, 61; *Serie II.* Tafel 74; *ibid.* 75/76 is a sheer *tour de force.*

Furtwängler, by reconstructing the figure in front as a falling warrior, is compelled to assume that the object of attention for the camp-follower is at a much higher level than that indicated by the direction of its motion and glance. Thus there come to be two objectives of attention instead of one, and this curious result receives expression in a raised position of the right arm of the camp-follower, which is quite out of harmony with the action of the rest of the figure and especially with that of the left arm. Further, fragment 84 does not fit on to the shoulder of the torso, so that, in itself, the high position is not absolutely certain as against a somewhat lower one. The outside view of the arm, indeed, as seen in *Aegina*, Fig. 205 gives a much truer impression of its real position, and comes much nearer to Thorwaldsen's reconstruction of the right arm than to Furtwängler's.

It further appears, however, that the right shoulder of the torso has an inclination of the muscles which is in harmony with the lower position, and out of harmony with the higher one. The elongated curve of the right shoulder on the underside, and the continuation of it which still shows the beginning of the upper arm below, afford quite sufficient indications that the right arm, in relation to the axis of the shoulder, had its angle in the somewhat low position suggested by Thorwaldsen's reconstruction. The raised position adopted by Furtwängler has brought about a very marked discrepancy between the action of the right arm and that of the left, and this again is re-echoed in the singularly unaesthetic effect to the eye, so clearly seen in *Aegina*, Fig. 204. The true explanation of this effect is that the objective of attention at a higher level (the supposed falling figure), with which the right arm is put into relation by Furtwängler, is out of harmony with the evident intention of the figure, as revealed by the downward direction of the gaze and inclination of the face. The gaze and the direction of the missing left arm (as indicated by the lie of the left shoulder) are towards an object in front lying on the ground, and the corresponding disposition of the right shoulder makes it reasonable to conclude that the existing right hand and arm should be regarded as moving in the same, and not in a different direction. The whole figure glides forward stealthily, and a movement of both arms in harmony with the direction of the gaze and movement of the body is the natural one for a person whose whole attention seems to be concentrated on the object to which the gaze is directed. Furtwängler's reconstruction has destroyed this impression by making the gaze and

left hand attend to one thing: that towards which the figure moves; while the right hand attends to something else, the helmet of the falling figure. This, on the contrary, is seen at a glance to lie entirely outside the range of the figure's attention. The resulting incompatibility between the objectives of attention is as disagreeable aesthetically as it is unnatural physically. There is no disputing the fact that the attention of our figure, as indicated by the direction of the gaze, the glide forward, and at the same time the strong inclination downwards of the body, is towards an object much lower in position than the torso of Furtwängler's falling figure. Why, then, it may be asked, is the whole attention of the camp-follower directed to an object which, on Furtwängler's reconstruction, does not exist, while the right hand is made to grab at an object which, with the whole figure to which it is supposed to belong, lies entirely outside the range of the figure's attention? The possibility of such a question only exposes the improbability of the reconstruction. There is further, the important general consideration that the figure, as conceived by Furtwängler, is made to exemplify a dualism in the action and in the objective of attention, which is contradicted by every figure in either pediment. Each of these figures, in fact, is represented as either doing or suffering one simple thing, to the absolute exclusion of any other passion or objective of attention. What then shall we say of a secondary objective of attention, so subsidiary as to be reflected physically only, in the function attributed to the hand grasping at the helmet of the falling figure? Were it not indeed for the action attributed to the right hand, the person represented would seem to be absolutely unaware of the existence of the person to whom the helmet is supposed to belong. This is perhaps the best proof that the falling figure did not exist, and that the object to which attention is exclusively directed, is nothing else than the recumbent warrior of Thorwaldsen's reconstruction.

Consideration of the group as a whole shows that Furtwängler's reconstruction has entirely spoiled the point of a very typical situation in early Greek warfare. The situation is as follows:—The warrior on the left hand of the Athena has disposed of one opponent, represented as lying wounded on the ground. He is meanwhile engaged in deadly combat with a second opponent, the comrade of the first. At this critical point a camp-follower, noticing the bad case of the fallen hero, glides forward stealthily and quietly from the rear, in order to save the arms if not the person, of the

wounded warrior, from the enemy. This is all represented as happening at the 'psychological moment,' when the renewed combat is at its hottest, and in the deadly preoccupation of the fight the wounded hero is, for the time being, forgotten. The intention clearly is at the right moment to anticipate the rapacious designs of spoilers on the hostile side.

In order to realize to the full the improbability of Furtwängler's reconstruction we must conceive the situation not merely as a bold sculptural group but as a real episode in Hellenic combat. What then exactly is the situation which he presupposes? The warrior to the left of the Athena has just wounded his opponent, whose falling pose shows him to be placed *hors de combat.* At the same moment the unlucky camp-follower, all unarmed as he is, makes a fool-hardy dart forward to rescue the arms of his wounded chief just as the victorious enemy is striding up in the exultation of victory, before he is faced with a new opponent. We have only to realize the situation from this practical side to see that if the one was the right 'psychological moment' this, of all others, is the wrong one, for, on such a reconstruction, the conquering hero, as we can see at a glance, is bound to make short work of the unhappy camp-follower. All other objections apart, that consideration alone is sufficient to show the impossible character of a situation which runs so counter to all the probabilities of real combat.

Let us come now to the corresponding group in the south wing of the pediment. Furtwängler (p. 233) has assigned the two thighs shown in *Aegina*, Pl. 100, 54 to a falling figure, D, answering to the falling figure in the north wing. On our reconstruction these thighs must belong to a warrior, E, already fallen, corresponding to the fallen combatant in the north wing. The general character of these thighs, indeed, so visible on Pl. 100 makes it highly probable that, notwithstanding Furtwängler's opinion to the contrary, the restorers in Rome were right when, as Furtwängler himself, p. 233, has noted, they assigned these to a figure on its back, answering in the south wing, to the recumbent figure in the north wing already discussed. An impartial examination of the original makes it quite apparent that the static condition of rest of the muscles, taken in conjunction with the characteristic general set and disposition of the limbs, is in complete harmony with the pose of a fallen figure reclining in a wounded condition on the ground. The vigour of life is still in the body, but there is no longer any dynamic strain of a person in unstable

equilibrium endeavouring, though wounded, to recover balance; but on the other hand, there is as yet no rigidity of death in the limbs. The lack of tension, as the physical expression of a resting position of the limbs, is especially apparent in the disposition of the great muscles of the thighs on the under and inner side. This lack of strain is quite apparent to the eye, particularly in the case of the left thigh, as seen on Pl. 100.

A further phenomenon that is very characteristic in these thighs is the peculiar distribution of the corrosion on the exposed right sides, in complete analogy with that of the corrosion of the exposed left side of the corresponding figure (I) in the north wing of the pediment. In striking contrast with this corrosion is the smoothness of surface not merely of the left or protected surfaces, which were towards the tympanum, but of the surfaces below, towards the left. This smoothness below is accounted for by the protection from the weather afforded by the nearness of these under surfaces to the plinth.

On the other hand, it remains inexplicable, if we conceive this protection removed, and the figure in a more or less oblique position. Furtwängler himself, p. 233, cites the weathering on the outside as a reason for assigning the figure to which the thighs belong to the south wing of the pediment. Had he, however, in doing so, allowed a greater rôle to the corrosive influence of the south wind and to the lateral direction of its force, in relation to the orientation of the pediments, there can hardly be any doubt that he would have taken more account of the difference of effect of this sidelong corrosion. In that case he would have seen that the corrosion was likely to have had a different distribution according as any given figure is conceived as placed vertically, obliquely, or lying on the ground. I think that in his reconstruction he has failed to notice this peculiar sidelong influence of corrosion by the south wind. Accordingly he fails to take adequate account of a very important factor in the complex of phenomena which, under differing conditions, produces remarkably different effects. These differences of effect in certain cases, if carefully observed, determine the pose of figures with much greater precision than would be possible, had we to do with a mere general fact of exposure to the weather in which no wind played any peculiar rôle of its own.

To this fallen figure belongs also the left leg-calf with greave, shown in Furtwängler's Fig. 184 as fitting on to the left thigh. When, however,

the leg is seen in the profile view it does not look so straight as it appears in the front view. The fragment of left thigh shown on Pl. 100, 54 has the beginning of the transition to the calf under the knee, and that shows an angle which indicates that the leg was bent, and drawn up somewhat as it would have been in a reclining figure. As this figure was in the south wing of the pediment with the legs to the north, this somewhat raised position of the left leg was probably calculated to give as full a view as possible of the figure above the plinth. The figure, with the torso raised somewhat above the plinth, was probably also turned a little towards its own right side to bring the front into prominence.

There is, however, one point about this leg-calf which is of great importance. Furtwängler, p. 234, assigns both this calf and the calf of a right leg, also with a greave, shown in Fig. 183, to his falling figure D. Now, there is a very significant difference between the greave of the two fragments which Furtwängler himself has remarked. The difference is this:—the greave of fragment 55, 1 on Pl. 86, which is that of a right leg, shows the edges at the back in relief.[1] The greave of fragment 55, 2, on the same Plate (*i.e.* of the left leg which I assign to the fallen figure), does not show these edges at all.[2] Notwithstanding this marked difference Furtwängler assigns both greaved fragments to one figure, that of his falling warrior; and he explains the difference on the supposition that as, in that position (profile right, in the south wing of the pediment), the left leg was away from direct view and near the tympanum, details, such as the edges, could in this case be carried out in paint.[3]

Now, it can hardly, in the circumstances, be a mere coincidence that at the critical point in the proof, the necessary link of strict certainty in the evidence is lacking. If we look at Fig. 183 we shall not fail to observe that the connection between the right leg-calf with greave showing edges behind (Pl. 86, 55, 1) and the right thigh (Pl. 100, 54, 1) has not been established. There is an interval between both at the knee which, as shown in Fig. 183, has been filled up with plaster. On the other hand, the

[1] 'An dem rechten Schenkel sind hinten die Ränder der Beinschiene plastisch angegeben, der rechte Rand mit erhobenem Saum, der linke glatt' (p. 234).

[2] 'Am linken Schenkel ist die Trennung der Schiene hinten plastisch nicht angegeben, nur der Ansatz derselben oben ist angedeutet; wahrscheinlich war die Ausführung der Trennung hier der Malerei überlassen.' (*Ibid.*)

[3] 'Da dann das linke Bein weiter zurückstand, wird jener Unterschied damit zusammenhängen.' (*Ibid.*)

calf of a left leg with greave not showing edges behind fits on to the left thigh (Pl. 100, 54, 2). Here then for the first time we come upon the true connecting link in the chain of evidence, and with it, for the first time, we have the real explanation of the discrepancy between the right and left greaves. This left calf fits on to the left thigh (Pl. 100, 54, 2), which, I think, belongs to a figure lying on the ground. To the corresponding right thigh (Pl. 100, 54, 1) the calf of a right leg (Pl. 86, 55, 1) showing the edges behind in relief does *not* belong. The real calf belonging to that thigh is missing, but if it existed we should be almost certain to find that its greave also showed no edge behind. As the figure to which the thighs belong was lying on the ground and presumably turned somewhat outwards towards its own right side, the backs of the greaves, right as well as left, in their low position immediately above the plinth, were quite invisible to the spectator, and so did not require to have their edges behind rendered in relief. The true explanation of the discrepancy in the greaves is as follows: the left calf (without greave-edges behind) fits on to the left thigh of a figure lying on the ground. The right calf (with greave-edges behind in relief) does not belong to a figure lying on the ground or even to Furtwängler's falling figure, but to a warrior in profile right, striding forward in combat. It is thus the erect position of the figure, involving the visibility of the calf behind, that explains the rendering of the greave-edges in relief. The corresponding calf of the left leg of this combatant is not in existence, but we have every justification for assuming that it also had such greave-edges in relief.

The result of this analysis, then, is to show that the right thigh and calf figured in *Aegina*, Fig. 183 as parts of one falling figure, do not belong together. Further, this thigh, and the thigh on Pl. 100, 54, 2, belong to a figure lying wounded on the ground, while the right calf, with foot attached to the plinth, fitting on to it, belongs to a warrior represented in the attitude of combat with the left leg in advance.

As regards the right leg which was in the rear-position, there is one important point which must not be left out of account. In the pose of combat it will be seen that this warrior has to be conceived as at a greater distance from his opponent than that given by Furtwängler to his falling figure. This point must be borne in mind while examining the fragment of right foot with a fragment of plinth attached, shown in *Aegina*, Fig. 185. This fits on to the right leg-calf of Fig. 183 already assigned to the fighting

warrior. It is important to note that the fragment of plinth having the foot in one piece with it, as shown in Fig. 186, fits in turn into a fragment of the geison-block to which the figure must belong, namely, No. 4 in Furtwängler's 'Beilage 4.' This fragment of geison, again, has part of the front edge preserved, so that the distance of the foot from the outer edge of the geison is fixed. On the other hand, as no other edge is preserved, it is clear that the fragment of geison can be shifted right or left along the line indicated by this edge, within the limits of the block to which it belongs, in a way which affords no guarantee whatever that the position which suits Furtwängler's reconstruction of his falling figure is the right one. Therefore as the absolute position of the foot, right or left, within the limits of the geison-block is not fixed, we are free to shift it to within a hair's breadth of the left edge to suit our reconstruction, and have an equally good chance of hitting the mark.

If, then, we consider the general situation presupposed, we have, as in the case of the corresponding figure in the north wing of the pediment, a warrior who is the comrade of the hero lying wounded at his feet, represented in our reconstruction as figure E. (Pl. XIX. A.) The action, with slight variations in detail, is thus a symmetrical repetition of the corresponding combat in the north wing. As, further, this renewed combat is still undecided, we must conceive a moment earlier than that at which a decisive blow has been struck either on one side or the other. Therefore the fitted fragments of a left arm with shield-strap slipped down out of position (*Aegina*, Fig. 187), assigned by Furtwängler to his falling figure D, cannot belong to our fighting warrior. The fragment can thus only be assigned to the figure of a fallen warrior to whom I also assign the two thighs shown in *Aegina*, Pl. 100, 54, 1 and 2, and the calf on Pl. 86, 55, 2. Furtwängler has allotted this fragment to his wounded and falling figure: even if it is assigned to the figure of a fallen warrior, we find that there is nothing essential in the disposition of the arm, in relation to the slipping down of the shield, which favours the earlier moment of falling, rather than the later one in which the warrior is shown as already fallen. There is nothing to show that something is happening rather than that it has just happened. The shield is still on the warrior's arm, but the hand, as in the other case, is no longer on the grip. The natural presumption, on our reconstruction, is that all this happened to a warrior not falling, but already fallen, and now succumbing to his fate. If this arm belongs to a figure of a wounded

warrior reclining front up in profile right, but inclined somewhat to his own right side, and the shield is further conceived as resting on its edge so as to show the inside with the arm, then we can easily assume a position for the arm in relation to the shield, which in no respect contradicts that presupposed by these fitted fragments. Indeed, with a different position of the body, this pose of the shield on its edge, showing the inside, and the arm with the strap slipped out of position and the hand no longer on the grip, is simply a variant of that shown by another recumbent figure, Glypt. 85 (also a wounded warrior succumbing to his fate), in the south corner of the same pediment. This coincidence is emphatically in favour of the function we assign to the fitted arm-fragments in relation to our fallen figure. When the shield could be made to stand on its edge with the inside and relaxing arm showing behind the figure, the motive was a favourite one. This condition is realized in the simplest form when the fallen figure, with front up, happens to be in profile to the right. This is the case of our fallen warrior E, where the shield then forms an expressive background, while the pathos of the figure, made visible to the eye by the relaxing arm and hand, is a plastic motive so inevitably true to nature that later art has never succeeded in improving on it.

Reverting to the phenomena of weathering, we find that, considered by themselves, they afford indications as to the real position of the arm which are entirely in harmony with the pose which we propose for the figure. The weathering on the arm is on the upper and inner side, that of the hand on the upper side.[1] This phenomenon, however, finds no adequate explanation in the falling pose given by Furtwängler to the figure. This peculiar distribution of the weathering on the upper side and, in the case of the arm, also on the inside, can only be accounted for on the supposition that the figure was lying on its back. In that position this upper side of the arm, in relation to the vertical pose of the shield, was adjusted axially into a lateral position of exposure, above the level of the torso, towards the full force of the south wind. The mechanism of the arm as observed by the sculptor, made this movement much less free towards the shoulder than at the wrist, and this accounts for the partial weathering of the arm also on the inner side. The freer movement of the hand conditioned for the sculptor its adjustment in a position which exposed

[1] Furtwängler says of the arm : 'die Witterung befindet sich auf der Ober- und Innenseite,' p. 236. 'Die Witterung befindet sich auf der Oberseite der Hand,' p. 237.

the inner side less, and the upper one more, to the effects of the weather, than the arm. It is this again which really accounts for the fact, observed also by Furtwängler, that the hand is weathered only on the upper side. Thus a mere glance at Furtwängler's falling figure will serve to convince us that, in that position, the body of the figure affords to the left arm a protection from the south wind which, added to its oblique position, leaves this particular distribution of the weathering entirely unaccounted for. Let us, on the other hand, conceive the figure as reclining more or less horizontally front up, but turned somewhat towards its own right side. Then we have relative positions of arm and shield, and an exposure of the arm to the south wind, which fully account for the existing peculiarities of weathering. The phenomenon further agrees with what we have already observed of the peculiar weathering of the thighs of the figure shown in *Aegina*, Pl. 100, 54, 1, 2.[1]

After what has already been said about the corresponding figure in the north wing of the pediment it only now remains to say a few words about the camp-follower who completes this group. The criticisms to be made on Furtwängler's reconstitution of the figure are a mere repetition of those already made on his interpretation of the action represented in the north wing. The points to be emphasized are as follows:—(1) The camp-follower, on our reconstruction, is to be conceived as darting forward towards a wounded warrior lying on the ground, at the 'psychological moment' when the enemy is embroiled in a new combat with the comrade of this fallen warrior. If there is no comrade to the fallen warrior there is no 'psychological moment' for the camp-follower and the situation that results, even if conceivable in the form of a sculptural group, is unrealizable as an episode in actual warfare. (2) The action of the left arm and hand must be conceived as concerned with one and the same object. (3) This object is the wounded warrior lying on the ground in front of the two combatants.

There is one important point about this figure which is worthy of

[1] Furtwängler, p. 237, further assigns to the figure of his falling warrior the fragment of a right fore-arm on Pl. 87, 59, and the right hand on Pl. 89, 60. It might be tempting to claim both for the figure of our fallen warrior, were it not that there are hardly sufficient data to determine a pose of the arm, in relation to that of our figure, which could have brought about the weathering, or what seems more like the corrosion, on the inner side of the arm as well as on its upper side, while the hand is apparently only weathered on the outside. Do the hand and the arm belong together? They do not fit.

special remark. Fürtwangler's description of the right leg is: 'rechtes Bein mit Verwitterung an der Aussen- und Vorderseite, also von einer nach rechts, aber etwas schräg aus dem Giebel herausbewegten Figur.' His own reconstruction, however, of the group gives no adequate explanation of this oblique movement of the figure; if, on the other hand, we conceive our wounded warrior as lying on the ground in front of the two combatants, we have a perfectly simple and self-evident motive for this movement of the camp-follower towards his own right. The figure of the camp-follower is represented as moving obliquely in the direction of the front of the pediment, because the object to which his attention is directed is lying in front of the main group of combatants, in the direction of the edge of the geison.

The pose of the warriors respectively right and left of the Athena is a point on which there can hardly be any reason for disagreeing with Furtwängler's conception. It is thus all the more tantalizing not to be quite certain about the position (left of the Athena), and the orientation facing north, of the statue (Glypt. 86) which in Furtwängler's reconstruction figures as G. (Pl. XIX. B) My doubts on this point were aroused at Munich in 1906 on noticing, to my own surprise, the corrosion of the torso in front, and the very emphatic accentuation of such corrosion in the region of the left breast. These doubts were not allayed when it further turned out that the fragment of right thigh (Pl. 86, 73), which has now been found to belong to the torso, shows the same corrosion of the front as the torso itself. Again, the torso and the fitted fragment of thigh show a smoothness of surface behind, in contrast with the front, which can only be reasonably regarded as due to weathering from the north. It is only natural to regard this weathering as due to the orientation north of the back of a figure in three-quarters profile south, and to the consequent protection afforded by the tympanum to the right side behind. The incrustation of the surface of the right hip and the corresponding part of the back cannot be easily taken as due to any sort of wind or rain weathering. Its cause is obscure.

If, then, the statue faced south, a necessary process of exclusion would make the torso belong to our F, that is, to the warrior next to the right of the Athena. As the figures right and left of the Athena correspond symmetrically the composition of the groups as a whole would not be affected by this transposition.[1]

[1] Furtwängler assigns the heel of a right foot, Pls. 85 and 86, 74, to his G. On the other

Criticism has so far been confined to the central groups of the East Pediment on either side of the Athena. With Furtwängler's reconstruction of the other groups I am in agreement, with one exception: the assignment of the head (Fig. 6 *a*, *b*, *c*[1]; *Aegina*, Pl. 97, 44) to the archer B, next but one to the south angle of the pediment. With this the strongly marked corrosion of the face is in contradiction. This corrosion is fairly uniform over the whole face and includes the right cheek as well as the left. It can thus only agree with a position of the head in profile to the left, that is, with a position which brings the face into full exposure to the south wind, the only wind that produces this particular kind of corrosion. On the other hand, in marked contrast with this corrosion of the face, the back of the helmeted head, as is clearly shown in Fig. 6 *a*, has a remarkably smooth surface, and this smoothness attains its maximum towards the right, behind. We can only conclude that this whole part was protected from the south wind by a profile position left and facing south, which made the back of the head face the other way, that is, towards the north. This position gives the back part of the head towards the right side, special protection through its juxtaposition to the tympanum.

There is one striking, and, at the same time, significant analogy for this particular distribution of the corrosion and weather-wear, the camp-follower, in profile left and facing south, in the north wing of the pediment. This position brings the face of the figure into full exposure to the south wind and this is what accounts for its uniform corrosion. Here again the best preserved part of the head is the back towards the right, which is next the tympanum and has the further protection of the gable-geison above. On the left side, on the other hand, the weather-wear increases gradually from the back of the head until it culminates in the corrosion of the left cheek. The corrosion, then, of both cheeks and the almost entire lack of weather-wear on the back of the head towards the right are the same in both instances. This parallelism may accordingly be taken as a sure indication that the head (Fig. 6) was in a position towards the south wind, and in relation to the tympanum, similar to that of the camp-

hand, he attributes the fragments of legs, Pl. 100, 61, Glypt. 125 and Pl. 86, 62 to his E. The question then is: may not all these fragments really belong to Glypt. 86? As regards the calf, Pl. 100, 63, Glypt. 124, also assigned by Furtwängler to his E, there is no intrinsic difficulty in assigning it to Glypt. 86, for, as Furtwängler remarks, the left leg of Glypt. 86 is lacking.

[1] Fig. 6 *a*, *b*, *c*, are after original photographs which I owe to the kindness of Prof. Wolters.

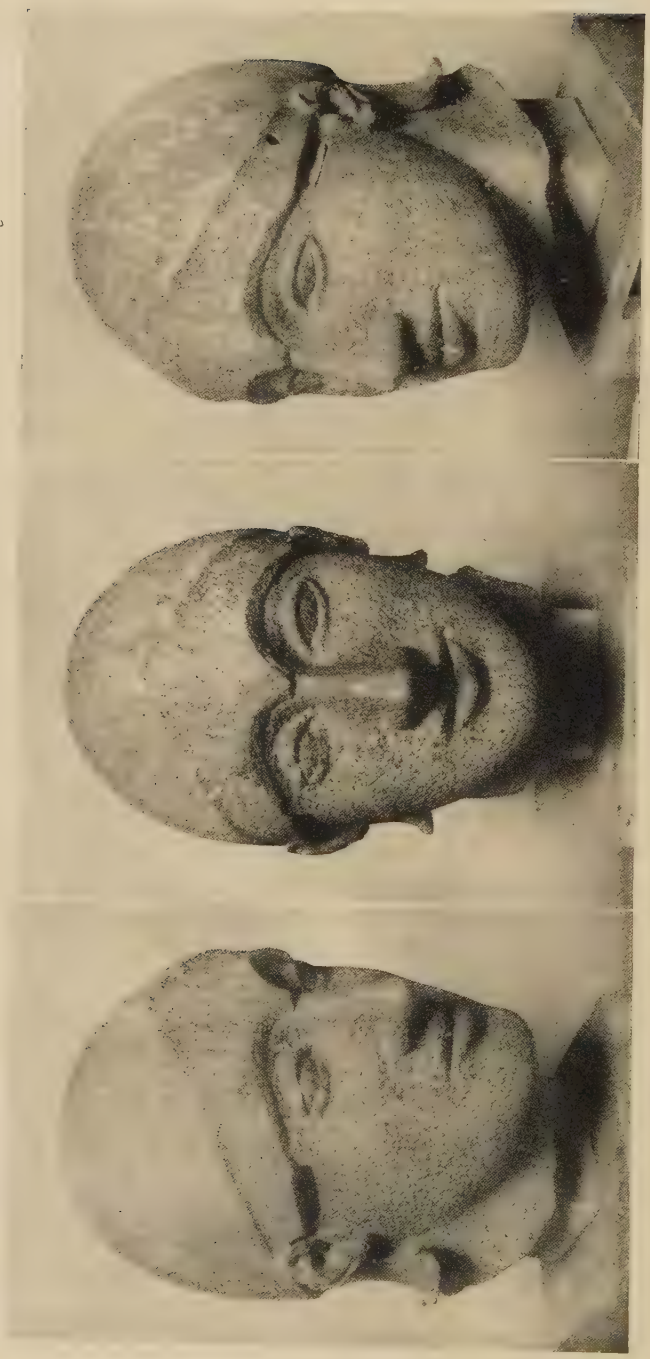


FIG. 6.—THREE VIEWS OF HEAD 44, SHOWING FACIAL ASYMMETRY.

FIG. 7.—THREE VIEWS OF HEAD OF DELPHI CHARIOTEER, SHOWING FACIAL ASYMMETRY.

follower L. We have a further analogous instance in the head of the Herakles which Furtwängler, with very good reason, has placed in profile left and facing south, in the north wing of the pediment next the reclining corner figure.

With this conclusion a circumstance agrees which, on the other hand, flatly contradicts the position given by Furtwängler to head 44. The helmet of this head, as is seen in Fig. 6 *c*, shows on the left side clear traces of a net-work decoration of dots. The dots appear slightly in relief as flat smooth discs, while the intervals between are weather-worn. This would seem to show that these dots were originally covered by some kind of paint-substance that protected them from the corrosive influence of the south-wind. Now, the position in profile right, given to the head by Furtwängler, necessitates the assumption that these traces of painting owe their preservation to the protection afforded by the tympanum, and to their position away from the influence of the south wind. This assumption, however, involves a serious difficulty when we consider that in such a position, the part of the helmet towards the tympanum, being invisible, was probably not decorated at all in detail. The part painted in detail was that which was visible to the spectator, that is, in this case, the whole left side of the helmet, and, of the right side, only the front above the brow. There is no trace at all on the unweathered right side behind of such ornament corresponding with that on the left side. This side shows behind a smooth bare weathered and polished surface which can hardly be due to any other influence than that of the fresh north winds and rain-storms, which, however, were not so destructive as to remove all traces of the net-work decoration.[1] On these grounds we must choose for the figure to which the helmet belongs a position in partial profile to the left, such as would bring the decorated left-hand side and right side in front, into view of the spectator. This position, again, brings the face to front south with an inclination at the same time towards its own left With this position of the face accords the corrosion of both cheeks which, as in other instances from the same pediment, could only have been caused by direct exposure to the south wind.

But the disposition of the reticulate ornament on the helmet is not the only detail of execution which helps to indicate the true profile position of the head. There are also some peculiarities of execution in the working

[1] The left cheek next the ear came under the same smoothing influence.

out of the head in front, including the helmet, which seem to afford conclusive evidence as to this position. The head, as belonging to a pediment group, was ostensibly meant for a profile position, and we find that when viewed full in front the face shows certain asymmetrical characteristics. Closer scrutiny brings out at once the fact that the right side is carried out with somewhat less of a curve in the contours and with appreciably less prominence to the features, than the left. In the *en face* position of the head this asymmetry is most strongly marked in the outlining of the helmet in front; the arched curve is noticeably higher above the left brow than above the right. Correspondingly the right eyebrow is appreciably lower and straighter in its curve than the left.[1] But when the head, instead of being looked at *en face*, is placed in three-quarter profile left (as in Fig. 6 *c*), the asymmetry so apparent in the *en face* position disappears, and from the point of view of the spectator the head appears perfectly symmetrical. In the profile right view, however, the asymmetry becomes exaggerated, as is shown in Fig. 6 *a*.

The *raison d'être* of this peculiar device may be taken to be somewhat as follows.—A face meant for an incomplete profile position, if executed with all its features symmetrical, appears unsymmetrical in any profile position which allows the off side of the face to be visible to the spectator in one view with the near side. The reason of this is that the features on the side of the face next the spectator are seen more or less in full plan, and so the different contours have either their true curves, if seen in elevation, or a flatter curve, which may be anything short of or approaching a straight line, if seen strictly in plan. On the other hand, the features of the off side of the face bend away rapidly out of sight in a manner which tends to exaggerate all the curves and to make them appear shorter and at the same time higher than they are in reality. To correct this optical illusion and so make the face appear symmetrical to the spectator, all curves on the further side of the face in any profile position are correspondingly made somewhat longer and flatter than those on the nearer side.[2]

In agreement with this explanation we find that in this head, the right

[1] All this comes out quite clearly in the front view of the head shown in Fig. 6 *b*.

[2] It is interesting to find that the Herakles, which on Furtwängler's own reconstruction is in partial profile to the left, has the same asymmetry and the same slightly more arched curve of the left eyebrow in the *en face* view, and that the corresponding asymmetry of the face is annulled by the new position which Furtwängler rightly gives to it.

side of the face has its contours flatter, and its curves somewhat longer and less arched, than the left. The ridge of the nose, again, as observable on the original at Munich, does not go quite vertically down, as would be required for a full *en face* view, but inclines slightly towards the left cheek.[1]

If by way of experiment we try different profile poses for our head it is striking to find that when the face is placed somewhat in three-quarter profile left, the features on the further side, owing to the rapid curve away of their contours, appear to the spectator to be of the same size as those of the nearer side. The slightly oblique inclination of the nose to the left counteracts the optical illusion which makes a nose, symmetrically placed, appear to run away at an exaggerated angle towards the side of the face turned away from the spectator, though still visible to him.

Coming now to the question whether the figure to which the head belonged looked right or left in the pediment, we are rather startled to find that on placing the head, as Furtwängler does, in three-quarter profile right, the asymmetry, which disappears when the face looks to the left, is at once greatly exaggerated. This curious result, as anybody can convince himself before the original, is particularly apparent in the treatment of a detail whose asymmetry is at once noticeable on the *en face* view, *i.e.* the higher arch of the helmet-edge above the left eyebrow.[2] The exaggeration of this asymmetry as the curves turn away on the off side of the face is further emphasized by contrast with the depression of the corresponding features on the side of the face next the spectator. The curves of this are seen either in their true proportions in elevation, or still further flattened in any view which comes short of a true elevation.

It thus turns out that the evidence afforded by the corrosion of the face is completely confirmed by the independent evidence of the peculiar plastic treatment. This secures to the spectator a symmetrical appearance of the face in all partial profile views right or left. The same technical device makes the face appear unsymmetrical in a front view, and exagger-

[1] The position of the mouth is correspondingly asymmetrical and is slightly towards the right. It thus appears symmetrically below the nose in the profile position. This may be noticed also in the camp-follower, the Herakles, and the recumbent figure at the north end of the pediment.

[2] This exaggeration is even apparent in the reproduction given in *Aegina*, Pl. 97, 44, 2 which shows a slight turn of the head to its own left. A strict *en face* view like that of Fig. 6 *b* brings out the real plastic asymmetry in its true proportions.

ates this asymmetry for any view in partial profile, except the one intended by the sculptor.

This peculiarity of treatment should not, however, be regarded as something invented once for all by the sculptors of the Aegina Pediments. It is rather the outcome of a long tradition, which is already seen fully established in the East Pediment of Aegina, and which, in later times, as a plastic principle of paramount importance, is seen to permeate all Greek composition in which profile positions played a rôle.

A notable example is the famous Charioteer of Delphi, which shows an asymmetry of the face, including the eyes, entirely analogous to that of our head. This comes out very clearly in Fig. 7 *a*, *b*, *c*.[1] If the statue is conceived in an elevated position, the three-quarter profile left position gives a view of the face, approaching that of Fig. 7 *c*, in which the calculated asymmetry of the *en face* view is entirely annulled. The inevitable conclusion is that the Charioteer of Delphi was meant to be viewed in three-quarter profile left, and that it was in this direction, to the left, that he was driving his chariot.

There is one fact still to be considered about the Aegina head. The head, as Furtwängler has argued from the strong curve of the neck behind, belonged to a figure with the upper part of the body inclined considerably forwards. This is the position in which Furtwängler, on the evidence of the part of a left leg shown on Pl. 99, 45, with good reason places his archer. Too much stress, however, must not be laid on this coincidence alone, when we recollect that our warrior K, on the evidence of the left foot shown in Fig. 5, must also be conceived as straining forward in combat. Our head does not fit on to a torso in either case, and it would be unsafe to affirm that the particular curve of the neck was, in itself, more in harmony with the particular inclination forward of the archer than of our warrior. When, on the other hand, we come to evidence like that of the distribution of the corrosion and weathering, which is more conclusive as to the orientation of the head, it can hardly be a mere coincidence that the reticulation of the left side of the helmet fits in with the other data as to this orientation. When I came to the conclusion, on these grounds, that the head must have been in profile left, and further, that it must have belonged to a figure in

[1] For these I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. Sieveking who has courteously prepared for me photographs from the cast at Munich.

the north wing of the pediment, it was by an inevitable process of exclusion that I assigned it to our warrior K. And then, to my own surprise, it turned out that the inclination forward of this figure furnished an explanation of the neck-curve of the head which seemed to be supported by more than a mere coincidence. It fitted in with the other evidence instead of being contradicted by it, as in the case of Furtwängler's assignment of the head to the archer B in the south wing of the pediment.

The general results of this investigation into the grouping of the figures in the pediment may be summarized as follows :—

(1) In harmony with the formalistic spirit of the archaic period we have correspondence in the number of figures between the East and the West Pediment. This numerical correspondence is made probable in itself, by the fact that two main groups in either wing of either pediment correspond on general lines. The inherent probability of this correspondence is so great that any opposite view must bring forward strong positive evidence in favour of the theory that there are a smaller number of figures in one pediment than in the other.

(2) There is similarity on general lines in the manner of grouping the figures in either pediment, with divergencies in detail. Given this general similarity, there are such special difficulties in the way of supposing a less number of figures in the one pediment than in the other that without positive evidence on the point the supposition is a matter of great improbability.

(3) As the pediments are exactly the same size it is, in itself, unsafe for the archaic period, to suppose that they were not filled with an equal number of figures. Aesthetically considered, the East Pediment with only five figures on either side of the Athena, gives the feeling of something wanting to fill up the amount of space at our disposal. On the other hand, the thirteen figures in the West Pediment produce an impression of suitability which serves aesthetically to strengthen the conviction that there could not have been a less number of figures in the similar space of the East Pediment.

In the tendency *towards* the centre of the groups of the East Pediment and *away* from the centre of those of the West, is embodied a principle of pedimental composition which Furtwängler's reconstructions have helped to bring out in a new and striking light. As regards the East Pediment, however, the architectonic correspondence with the West

Pediment that should result, has been seriously compromised by the introduction of Furtwängler's falling figures.

The disappearance of those figures brings the composition of this pediment into complete harmony with that of the other. The only contrast that exists is the contrasted harmony of centripetal and centrifugal lines respectively.

And if there is one thing more than another that has been brought home to us by Furtwängler's investigations, it is that such harmonic contrasts in composition were the order of the day with the sculptors of Aegina.

DUNCAN MACKENZIE.

MUNICH, *March*, 1910.

THE KOURETES AND ZEUS KOUROS.

A STUDY IN PRE-HISTORIC SOCIOLOGY.

Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι,
Κρόνιε.

THE opening words of the Hymn to Diktaean Zeus recently found at Palaikastro[1] instantly arrest attention. Zeus the Father of Gods and Men is invoked by a title that to our unaccustomed ears sounds strange and barely reverent.

'Greatest of Kouroi, I give thee hail, Kronian.'

The Hymn of Invocation[2] is chanted by armed dancers who follow the god as δαίμονες or attendant spirits; they come to a stand about the well-fenced altar and there chant how at Dikte once the Kouretes took the holy child 'on their shields from Rhea and with noise of beating feet hid him away.'[3] The armed dancers, it is clear, are in some sense Kouretes themselves and as such they invoke the Kouros. It may be that if we can understand the Kouretes, the gist of the Kouros will become clear. We begin, therefore, with the preliminary question:—

Who were the Kouretes?

'καὶ Κουρήτων
Βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσιωθείς.'

[1] See pp. 339 ff..

[2] Ὕμνος κλητικός. Ritual Hymns of this or indeed of any class are unhappily rare. Our earliest instance is the invocation of the Bull-god by the women of Elis; the Delphic Paean to *Dithyrambos* presents a later and closer analogy, see my *Prolegomena*, pp. 438 and 417. To the question of these ὕμνοι κλητικοί and their connection with the Dithyramb and choruses of δαίμονες I hope to return later.

[3] See Prof. Gilbert Murray's restored text (pp. 357 f.).

The question before us puzzled Strabo, and Lobeck in his great *Aglaophamus* failed to solve it. In both cases the reason is the same. Strabo had necessarily lost and Lobeck not yet recovered touch with the social conditions and the primitive habits of thought, out of which arose the institution of the Kouretes.

In one of the fragments of Book vii. Strabo[1] says, 'Many assert that the gods worshipped in Samothrace as well as the Kurbantes and the Korybantes and in like manner the Kouretes and the Idaean Daktyls, are the same as the Kabeiroi, but as to the Kabeiroi they are unable to tell who they are.' Not a very illuminating statement, but it just serves to show two things: first, that in Strabo's time even a learned man was in complete doubt as to the exact nature of the Kouretes; second, that in current opinion, Satyrs, Kouretes, Idaean Daktyls, Korybantes, and Kabeiroi appeared as figures roughly analogous.

Strabo devotes the third chapter of his tenth Book[2] to the discussion of our question, *Who were the Kouretes?* His discussion is intelligent and even acute. He could not solve the problem—the necessary anthropological data were wholly lacking—but he approached as nearly to a solution as was possible for an inquirer of his date.

Strabo apologizes for devoting to matters *quasi*-religious space that should have been dedicated to serious geography, and, by way of explanation, he adds that the sort of discussion he is about to engage in being of a theological nature is 'not alien to the inquiry of the philosopher.'[3] Strabo knew, what we too often forget, that theology is the primitive stuff out of which ancient philosophy was made.

Strabo's results must be briefly resumed:—

I omit his long geographical discussion as to the Aetolian and Akarnanian Kouretes. The only point that need here be noted is his opening statement that some said the Kouretes of Aetolia and Akarnania came from Crete.[4] Our problem is not concerned with the geographical

[1] *Frg.* 51. Ὅτι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ τιμωμένους θεοὺς εἰρήκασι πολλοὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Καβείροις, οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες λέγειν τοὺς Καβείρους οἵτινές εἰσι, καθάπερ τοὺς Κύρβαντας καὶ Κορύβαντας, ὡς δ' αὕτως Κουρῆτας καὶ Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους.

[2] E. Bethe (*Hermes*, xxiv. 1889, p. 411) has shown that in all probability the source for Strabo's account as well as that of Diodorus (v. 64. 65) is the κατάλογος νεῶν of Apollodorus, see Pauly-Wissova, *Real-Encyclopaedie*, *s.v.* Daktyloi.

[3] Strabo, x. c. 466. ἔστι μὲν οὖν θεολογικὸς πᾶς ὁ τοιοῦτος τρόπος τῆς ἐπισκέψεως καὶ οὐκ ἀλλότριος τῆς τοῦ φιλοσόφου θεωρίας.

[4] Strabo, x. c. 462. . . . καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐκ Κρήτης, τῶν δ' ἐξ Εὐβοίας τὸ γένος εἶναι φασκόντων.

tribe of the Kouretes. The form Κούρης is simply what may be called a specialized derivative of κοῦρος, as γυμνής of γυμνός and perhaps γόης of γόος. The Kouretes are Young Men in a special sense; any tribe anywhere might come to bear the name and undoubtedly such a tribe existed in Akarnania. Moreover, as Strabo himself notes, Homer [1] applies the term *Kouretes* just to ordinary young soldiers, the flower of the army. Agamemnon bids Odysseus choose out 'Kouretes, the bravest of the Achaeans' to bear the presents to Achilles.

What puzzled Strabo was not this normal use of the word but the fact that in certain writings called Κουρητικά and περὶ Κουρήτων [2] particular Kouretes were described, who were not merely a local tribe but a class of beings marked out by certain singular and apparently incompatible characteristics. These characteristics he enumerates as follows. For clearness' sake I do not follow Strabo's order.

I.—*The Kouretes as* Δαίμονες *and* Πρόπολοι.

The name Kouretes is applied by those who hand down Cretan and Phrygian traditions [3] to certain beings, who are not merely young men but who are δαίμονες and also *attendants* (πρόπολοι) on the gods. This particular kind of Kouretes resembles Satyrs, Seilenoi, Bacchoi, and Tityroi.[4] They are divine but not quite gods; they are, as we shall see, the stuff of which ancient gods are made. According to some, the Korybantes, the Idaean Daktyls, the Telchines are actually the same as the Kouretes. Others say that they are all akin but that there are slight differences. To characterize them generally, they are one and all enthusiastic beings inspired with Bacchic frenzy. Hesiod,[5] and Hesiod only, calls the Kouretes actually gods, he tells of

> . . . 'the worthless idle race of Satyrs
> And the gods, Kouretes, lovers of sport and dancing.'

[1] *Iliad*, xix. 193. κρινάμενος κούρητας ἀριστῆας Παναχαιῶν.

[2] Strabo, x. c. 466. ἅπερ Κουρητικὰ μὲν καὶ περὶ Κουρήτων λέγεται.

[3] Strabo, x. c. 466. τοιούτους γάρ τινας δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν τοὺς Κουρῆτάς φασιν οἱ παραδόντες τὰ Κρητικὰ καὶ τὰ Φρύγια.

[4] *Loc. cit.* ἔοικε δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ περὶ Σατύρων καὶ Σειληνῶν καὶ Βακχῶν καὶ Τιτύρων λόγῳ.

[5] *Frg.* cxxix. καὶ γένος οὐτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμηχανοεργῶν
Κουρῆτές τε Θεοὶ φιλοπαίγμονες, ὀρχηστῆρε.

II.—*The Kouretes as Magicians, as* Μάντεις *and Metallurgists.*

As δαίμονες whether wholly or half divine they *have all manner of magical capacities.* These capacities are by Strabo rather implied than expressly stated and are especially noticeable in the Korybantes. The Korybantes bind and release men from spells, they induce madness and heal it. The chorus asks[1] the love-sick Phaedra

> 'Is this some Spirit, O child of man?
> Doth Hecat hold thee perchance, or Pan?
> Doth She of the Mountains work her ban,
> Or the dread Corybantes bind thee?'

The passage is noteworthy because it brings the Korybantes into relation with the Mountain-Mother and with Hecate, a conjunction to be discussed later (p. 322).

The Kouretes are also, as all primitive magicians are, seers (μάντεις). When Minos in Crete lost his son Glaukos he sent for the Kouretes to discover where the child was hidden.[2] Closely akin to this magical aspect is the fact that they are metal-workers.[3] Among primitive people metallurgy is always regarded as an uncanny craft. The metal-working side of these figures comes out only in the Daktyloi and the Telchines. A step more and they become culture-Heroes, inventors of all the arts of life, house-building, bee-keeping, shield-making, and the like.[4]

III.—*The Kouretes as armed* Ὀρχηστῆρες.

The most salient and also, to our minds, the most singular characteristic of these magical δαίμονες, these half-divine medicine men, these seers and metal-workers, is that they are *armed and orgiastic dancers.* The

[1] Eur. *Hipp.* 141.

> ἦ σύ γ' ἔνθεος, ὦ κούρα,
> εἴτ' ἐκ Πανὸς εἴθ' Ἑκάτας
> ἢ σεμνῶν Κορυβάντων φοι-
> τᾷς ἢ ματρὸς ὀρείας;

The translations here and elsewhere are by Professor Gilbert Murray.

[2] Apollod. 3. 2. 2.

[3] Soph. *ap.* Strabo, x. c. 473 says of the Idaean Daktyls, οἳ σίδηρόν τε ἐξεῦρον καὶ εἰργάσαντο πρῶτοι καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον χρησίμων.

[4] Diod. Sic. v. 64. Idaean Daktyls are described as γόητες who superintend ἐπῳδὰς καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια. They invent fire and the use of bronze and iron. The Kouretes are ἀρχηγοὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ συμβιώσεως.

Kouretes, says Strabo,[1] are certain youths who execute movements in armour. It is especially as armed and orgiastic dancers that they fulfil their function as ministers in sacred rites. They inspire terror by armed dances accompanied by noise and hubbub of timbrels and clashing arms and also by the sound of the flute and shouting.[2]

IV.—*The Kouretes as* Φύλακες *and* Παιδοτρόφοι.

In close connection with their function as armed dancers (ὀρχηστῆρες) is another function which at first sight seems hardly congruous: the Kouretes are *guardians* (φύλακες), *nurses* (τροφεῖς), *child-rearers* (παιδοτρόφοι). 'In the Cretan discourses,' says Strabo,[3] 'the Kouretes are called the nurses and guardians of Zeus.' And again in trying to explain the word Kouretes, he says[4] they were so called either because they were young and boys or because of their rearing of Zeus. They earned this title, he adds, through being 'as it were Satyrs attendant upon Zeus.' Among the mystic and other rites in which the Kouretes take a part as ministers Strabo[5] expressly mentions, on the authority of Cretan tradition, the *παιδοτροφία* of Zeus and the orgiastic rites of the mother. Mother and child are of course correlatives. The principal myth in which the Kouretes figure as ministers is the story of the child-rearing.

The myth and its ritual enactment is recounted by Strabo[6] as follows. After mentioning the mysteries of Demeter and Dionysos, he says 'These things in general and the sacred ceremonies of Zeus in particular, are performed with orgiastic rites and with the assistance of attendants (πρόπολοι) similar to the Satyrs that attend Dionysos. These attendants they call Kouretes. They are certain young men who perform armed movements

[1] Strabo, x. c. 468. τούτους δ' ὠνόμαζον Κουρῆτας, νέους τινὰς ἐνόπλιον κίνησιν μετ' ὀρχήσεως ἀποδιδόντας.

[2] *Ibid.* x. c. 466. ὡς δὲ τύπῳ εἰπεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλέον, ἅπαντας ἐνθουσιαστικούς τινας καὶ βακχικοὺς καὶ ἐνοπλίῳ κινήσει μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ψόφου καὶ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ ὅπλων, ἔτι δ' αὐλοῦ καὶ βοῆς ἐκπλήττοντας κατὰ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐν σχήματι διακόνων.

[3] *Ibid.*, x. c. 472. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Κρητικοῖς λόγοις οἱ Κουρῆτες Διὸς τροφεῖς λέγονται καὶ φύλακες.

[4] x. c. 468. ὥσθ' οἱ Κουρῆτες ἤτοι διὰ τὸ νέοι καὶ κόροι ὄντες ὑπουργεῖν ἢ διὰ τὸ κουροτροφεῖν τὸν Δία (λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως) ταύτης ἠξιώθησαν τῆς προσηγορίας, οἱονεὶ Σάτυροί τινες ὄντες περὶ τὸν Δία.

[5] x. c. 466. τοιούτους γάρ τινες δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν τοὺς Κουρῆτάς φασιν οἱ παραδόντες τὰ Κρητικὰ καὶ Φρύγια, ἱερουργίαις τισὶν ἐμπεπλεγμένα ταῖς μὲν μυστικαῖς, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις περί τε τὴν τοῦ Διὸς παιδοτροφίαν τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ τοὺς τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ὀργιασμούς.

[6] x. c. 468.

accompanied by dancing and they allege as their reason the myth about the birth of Zeus, in which Kronos is introduced with his habit of swallowing his children immediately after birth, and Rhea trying to conceal her birth-pangs and to get the new-born child out of the way and doing her utmost to save it. With a view to this she enlists the help of the Kouretes. They surround the goddess and with drums and with the din of other instruments try to strike terror into Kronos and to escape notice whilst trying to filch away the child. The child is then given over to them to be reared with the same care by which it was rescued.'

Strabo says the dancing young men allege or put forward (*προστησάμενοι*) as the reason of their dance the myth about the birth of Zeus. Just so the singers and dancers of the Palaiokastro hymn put forward the myth as the reason of their ritual—

> *Ἔνθα γὰρ σὲ παῖδ' ἄμβροτον,*
> *ἀσπιδ[ηφόροι τροφῆες]*
> *παρ' Ῥέας λαβόντες πόδα*
> *κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυψαν].*

Strabo clearly regards the ritual as a dramatic presentation of the myth, but the myth is obviously aetiological, the after explanation rather than the initial cause of the ritual. This ritual of the slain child variously called Zeus, Dionysos, and Zagreus we are fortunately able to reconstruct in its main elements from a source earlier than Strabo. As regards the name Zagreus, Suidas[1] tells us that Zagreus is Dionysos 'according to the poets.' This statement, save for the late poet Nonnus, who makes of Zagreus an early Dionysos,[2] is scarcely correct. Zagreus is a ritual rather than a mythological figure, a title, a special and probably primitive aspect of Dionysos as he appeared in Cretan rites. Precisely what element in Dionysos-worship Zagreus represents, will be considered later (p. 336). Meantime, before the full function of the Kouretes can be understood, the myth and mysteries of Zagreus must be examined in detail.

Zagreus and the Thunder-Rites:

The mysteries of Dionysos (Zagreus) are, says Clement of Alexandria, 'utterly inhuman.' He then proceeds to recount them. Utterly inhuman

[1] Suidas, *s.v.* *Ζαγρεύς· ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ ποιηταῖς.*
[2] Nonnus, *Bacch.* xxxix. 61. *δῶκε γέρας Ζαγρῆϊ, παλαιοτέρῳ Διονύσῳ.*

they are as Clement understood or rather utterly misunderstood them: very human indeed, social and civilizing through and through if my interpretation be correct, so human and social that a very considerable portion of humanity thinks it well to practise analogous rites to-day.

Let Clement[1] tell his story:—

'The mysteries of Dionysos are utterly inhuman, for while he was still a child and the Kouretes were dancing round him their armed dance the Titans came stealthily upon him and lured him with childish toys and tore him limb from limb while he was yet a babe. Thus does the Thracian Orpheus, the poet of the Rite, recount

> The cones, the rhombos and the limb-bending toys,
> And the fair gold apples of the Hesperides.'

Other authorities add other details. The wicked Titans who stole the child away were painted over with white clay, gypsum[2] (*τίτανος*). Moreover, and this is of cardinal importance, there is a sequel to the story. After the child has been made away with (*ἀφανισμός*) or torn to pieces (*διασπαραγμός*) he comes back to life again: there is an *ἀναβίωσις*, a *παλιγγενεσία*,[3] how and when we are not told. Some said[4] the child's heart was saved and then put back into a figure made of gypsum. In some versions[5] the wicked giants or white-clay-men are struck with lightning by Zeus and burnt to ashes and from these ashes sprang the human race.

The cardinal elements of the story are:—

(1) A child is carefully tended by men called Kouretes. To guard him they dance over him an armed dance.

[1] Abel, *Orphica*, 196. *τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα, ὃν εἰσέτι παῖδα ὄντα, ἐνόπλῳ κινήσει περιχορευόντων Κουρήτων, δόλῳ δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς τελετῆς ποιητὴς Ὀρφεύς φησιν ὁ Θρᾴκιος.*

> *κῶνος καὶ ῥόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγυια*
> *μῆλά τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων.*

[2] Harpocrat. *s.v. ἀπομάττων. ὡς ἄρα οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὸν Διόνυσον ἐλυμήναντο γύψῳ καταπλασάμενοι.*

[3] Plut. *De Is. et Os.* xxxv. and *De Ei ap. Delph.* ix. *Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ζαγρέα καὶ Νυκτέλιον καὶ Ἰσοδαίτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ φθοράς τινας καὶ ἀφανισμούς, καὶ τὰς ἀποβιώσεις καὶ παλιγγενεσίας, οἰκεῖα τοῖς εἰρημέναις μεταβολαῖς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθεύματα περαίνουσι.*

[4] Firmicus Mat. *De Err. Prof. Relig.* 6. . . . imaginem eius ex gypso plastico opere perfecit et cor pueri, ex quo facinus fuerat sorore deferente detectum, in ea parte plastae conlocat, qua pectoris fuerant lineamenta formata.

[5] The sources for all these details are collected in Abel's *Orphica*, pp. 224 ff. and in Lobeck's *Aglaophamus*, pp. 553 ff.

(2) The child is made away with, killed, dismembered by men called Titans, 'white-clay-men.'

(3) The child reappears, is brought to life again. Sometimes this is effected by the white-clay-men, sometimes the child reappears as a white-clay-man himself, his heart being put into a figure of gypsum.

(4) The white-clay-men are slain by thunderbolts.

Clement and the other Christian fathers naturally confined their attention to the elements in the rite that seemed to them inhuman, the slaying and dismembering of the child. From their account we have only an accidental hint in the final vengeance on the Titans that thunder played any part in the story.

Fortunately we are able to supplement our knowledge from an account of the mysteries of Zagreus, at once earlier and more sympathetic, which survives in a fragment of the *Cretans* of Euripides.[1] This fragment is perhaps the most important document for Orphic religion that we possess. The reading in one crucial place has been questioned and several emendations suggested. I propose to keep the text and to offer an interpretation of it that may, I think, furnish us with a new and significant factor in the rites of Zagreus.

For a moment let us see where the fragment must have stood in the lost play. The evidence is in part drawn from another recently discovered fragment.[2] We are in the palace of Minos in Crete. A child has been born to the royal house, a portent, the monstrous Minotaur. Minos is troubled, he will purify the palace, will ask the meaning of the portent. The whole scene reminds us of another lost play of Euripides, *Melanippe the Wise*,[3] where the portentous twins are born and Melanippe in her famous, rationalizing, truly Euripidean speech, explains that the order of the cosmos is fixed and that such things as portents cannot be. Minos then sends for the priests and medicine men, the Idaean Daktyls, presumably to purify the palace and bring peace and understanding. They leave their secret sanctuary in Ida—the strange manner of its building they describe,

[1] Nauck, *frg.* 472.

[2] *Berliner Klassikertexte*, v. 2, *Gr. Dichterfragmente* (2) 1907, p. 73. See also G. Körte, *Die Kreter des Euripides* in *Hist. u. Phil. Aufsätze*. E. Curtius, Berlin, 1884, p. 195 and A. Kappelmacher, *Zu den Kreten des Euripides*, *Wiener Eranos*, 50 Versamml. Graz, 1909.

[3] Nauck, *frg.* 484.

they come in white robes to the terror-stricken palace and in solemn anapaests tell of the manner of their life on Mount Ida and of the initiation ceremonies that have made them what they are and have given them authority to cleanse and interpret.

Since they became mystics on Mount Ida their life has been sanctified :

'There in one pure stream
My days have run, the servant I,
Enhallowed, of Idaean Jove.[1]'

This general ceremonial purity of life they particularize by enumerating the various ritual acts they have accomplished which culminate in their attainment of the title *Bacchos* conferred on them by the college of the Kouretes.

'I am set free, and named by name
A Bacchos of the Mailèd Priests.'[2]

The rites of initiation by which they became Bacchoi are three in number :—

(*a*) 'Where midnight Zagreus roves, I rove,
I have endured his thunder-cry ;'

(*b*) 'Fulfilled his red and bleeding feasts ;'

(*c*) 'Held the Great Mother's mountain-flame ;'[3]

Rites *b* and *c* the waving of the torches and the *omophagia* I have discussed elsewhere.[4] Rite *a* has hitherto been held unintelligible, and it is on *a* that we must now focus our attention.

Porphyry,[5] who preserves the fragment for us—as a text on which to preach vegetarianism—has *βροντάς*. The MSS. follow him with the exception of the Leipzig MS. which has *βροτάς*. Lobeck[6] suggests *σπονδάς*, which may be rejected as of impossible violence. The most plausible suggestion is Diels' *βούτας* = ox-herd. Dieterich[7] accepts *βούτας* holding *βροντάς* to be

1 ἁγνὸν δὲ βίον τείνων ἐξ οὗ
Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμην.

2 καὶ κουρήτων
Βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσιωθείς.

3 (*a*) καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βροντὰς
(*b*) τάς τ' ὠμοφάγους δαῖτας τελέσας
(*c*) μητρί τ' ὀρείῳ δᾷδας ἀνασχών.

4 *Prolegomena*, pp. 483, 499.

5 *De Abst.* iv. 19. 6 See Nauck, *ad loc.* 7 *De Hymnis Orphicis*, p. 11.

hopeless; 'perperam traditur βροντάς praeclare emendavit Dielesius.' The *praeclare* is juster than the *perperam*. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff[1] follows Diels, interpreting βούτας as βουκόλος. The temptation to adopt βούτας is severe. In the *omophagia* a wild bull was hunted and eaten; the bull-forms of Dionysos are familiar; his followers are known to have been called βουκόλοι; at Athens we have a βουκολεῖον and indeed an actual βούτης (Butes) worshipped in the Erechtheion. But had the original reading been βούτας it is hard to see why the unintelligible βροντάς should have been substituted. Following Prof. Gilbert Murray's advice I have kept the text[2] and waited for further evidence as to its interpretation.

Light came from an unexpected quarter. In investigating thunderbolts I was referred to a passage, again, oddly enough, in Porphyry. Pythagoras, Porphyry[3] tells us, in the course of his journey from Asia Minor to Italy came to Crete. There he met on landing some of the Mystae of Morgos one of the Idaean Daktyls, by whom he was initiated into their rites. The first rite he underwent at their hands was purification and this purification was effected by—the thunderbolt or thunder-stone.

A thunder-stone is not so strange an implement of purification as it might at first sight appear. Celts or stone-axes over a large portion of the civilized world are, by a strange blunder, taken to be thunderbolts—weapons shot down by the sky god. Such stones are called to-day by the modern Greek peasant 'lightning-axes' (ἀστροπελέκια, a shortened form of ἀστραποπελέκια). Great is their value as charms against thunder, *similia similibus*, to keep milk sweet, to cure rheumatism and the like.[4]

The celt reproduced in Fig. 1 is a curious illustration of the use of these supposed thunder-stones in mysteries. It was found in the Argolid and is now in the Central Museum at Athens. The inscription[5] cannot

[1] *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, p. 77, note 1. [2] *Prolegomena*, p. 480, note 1.

[3] *Vit. Pyth.* 17. Κρήτης δ' ἐπιβὰς τοῖς Μόργου μύσταις ἑνὸς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐκαθάρθη τῇ κεραυνίᾳ λίθῳ.

[4] For the superstitions that gather round *thunder-stones*, celts as supposed thunder-stones, see H. Martin's *La Foudre dans l'Antiquité*. To the general question of the sanctity of thunder-stones and their place in the development of Greek religion I hope to return elsewhere.

[5] This inscription is inaccurately reproduced by Perrot and Chipiez, *Grèce Primitive*, vol. vi. p. 119, Fig. 5. The first four letters as given by them are Βάκχ which led me to hope that the word inscribed was Βάκχος, but Mr. R. M. Dawkins was good enough to examine the actual stone and to send me the inscription corrected. The drawing in Fig. 1, with the correct inscription, I owe to the kindness of Mrs. Hugh Stewart. Reproduced also by Cartailhac, *L'âge de pierre*, p. 31, Fig. 14.

be interpreted and is probably of the *Abraxas* order, and it is clear that the scene represented has to do with Mithraic mysteries. We have the story of the holy bull and below, a figure that looks like a Roman soldier bearing a rod surmounted by an eagle, is received by a priest: the soldier is probably qualifying to become an 'Eagle.'

FIG. 1.—THUNDER-STONE. (Central Museum, Athens.)

Porphyry [1] then goes on to enumerate the various ceremonies gone through during initiation. Pythagoras had to wear a wreath of black wool, to lie face foremost near the sea for a whole night and finally to go down into the cave of Idaean Zeus, a great underground cavern on Mount Ida. There he had to spend thrice nine days, and then at last he was allowed to gaze on the throne which year by year was draped for Zeus. There was in Crete a tomb as well as a throne, since Porphyry tells us that Pythagoras engraved an inscription on it as follows; 'Pythagoras to Zeus'—and the beginning of what he wrote was:—

'Here died Zan and lies buried, whom they call Zeus,'

an inscription which reminds us of another divine being whose tomb Zeus took over:—

'Here died Pikos and lies buried, who is also Zeus.' [2]

After all these solemnities the final apocalypse of an empty throne falls rather flat. Why is the throne draped if it is to remain empty? Was the throne really empty? I think not—Zeus in human shape was not seated thereon, otherwise we should have been told, but his throne may on certain occasions have been tenanted by a symbol as, or even more awe-inspiring than himself—his thunderbolt.

[1] *Loc. cit.* supra. ἕωθεν μὲν παρὰ θαλάττῃ πρηνὴς ἐκταθείς, νύκτωρ δὲ παρὰ ποταμῷ ἀρνειοῦ μέλανος μαλλοῖς ἐστεφανωμένος. εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβὰς ἔρια ἔχων μέλανα τὰς νομιζομένας τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν καὶ καθήγισεν τῷ Διὶ τόν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο, ἐπίγραμμά τ' ἐνεχάραξεν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ἐπιγράψας 'Πυθαγόρας τῷ Διὶ,' οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· 'Ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζάν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν.

[2] Suidas, *s.v.* Πῖκος . . . ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν . . . Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

The two coins in Fig. 2 suggest this.[1] The first is from Seleukeia Pieria,[2] the date probably early in the first century B.C.; the reverse shows a large thunderbolt with fillet attached, lying on a cushion on a throne. The legend is ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ. The turreted head on the obverse is supposed to be the Tyche of Seleukeia. The second coin figured is a denarius of Antoninus Pius and also shows a thunderbolt resting on a spread throne. Closely analogous in idea though not in style is a Graeco-Roman relief (Fig. 3) now in the museum at Mantua.[3] Here again we have the spread throne, the thunderbolt; the only addition is an eagle.

The thunderbolt was to the primitive Greek not the symbol or attribute of the god but itself the divine thing, the embodiment and vehicle of *mana*. As such, long after Zeus had taken on full human form in literature, it held its place in cultus, not as a weapon in the hand of the

FIG. 2.—COINS SHOWING THE THUNDERBOLT LAID ON A THRONE.

human god but actually occupying his throne. This identity of the two is specially manifest in the figure of the infant Zagreus. In the terracotta relief[4] from the Palazzo Colonna reproduced in Fig. 4 we have three dancing Kouretes or Korybantes, who clash their shields over the infant

[1] The coins reproduced are in the possession of Mr. A. B. Cook and will be discussed in his forthcoming book on the *European Sky-God*. He very kindly allows me to anticipate their publication.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins, Syria* pp. 270 f., Pl. XXXII. 6 and 8. The thunder-cult of Seleukeia Pieria is well known. Appian in his *History of Syria* (c. 56) says of the inhabitants of Seleukeia *θρήσκουσι καὶ ὑμνοῦσι καὶ νῦν Κεραυνόν*. Keraunos had annually appointed priests, *κεραυνοφόροι*, with whom may perhaps be compared the *λιθοφόρος* who had a seat in the Dionysiac theatre at Athens. See my *Mon. and Myth. of Ancient Athens*, p. 274.

[3] E. Braun, *Kunstmythologie*, Taf. 6.

[4] *Annali d. Inst.* xii. (1840) Tav. d'agg. K. I am uncertain where the relief now is. E. Braun, who publishes it, says it passed from the Palazzo Colonna to the royal castle of Agliè near Turin.

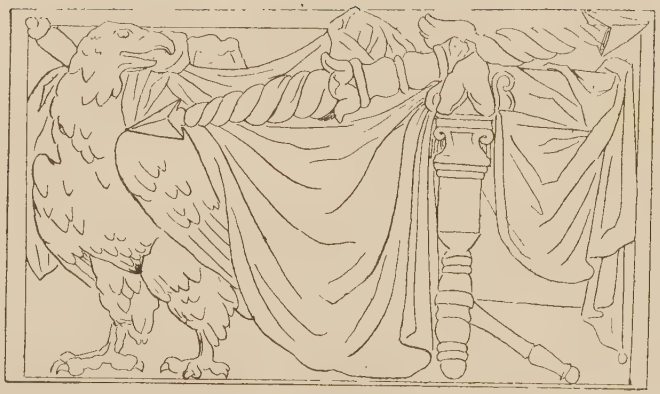


Fig. 3.—Relief in the Museum of Mantua.

Fig. 4.—Terracotta Relief from the Palazzo Colonna, Rome.

Fig. 5.—Ivory Relief in the Museum of Milan.

Zeus; near him, lying on the ground, is a thunderbolt, his equivalent rather than his attribute.

The human child completely replaces the thunderbolt. On the ivory relief[1] from Milan (Fig. 5) the child is seated on the throne once held by the thunderbolt. But the fact that child and thunder-stone were one and the same was deep-rooted in myth as well as ritual. Hesiod[2] knew it, at least subconsciously. When Kronos was about to swallow Zeus, what is it that Rhea gave him and that he really swallowed? A stone in swaddling clothes. On the well-known relief[3] on the Capitoline altar Rhea is figured with the swaddled stone in her hands offering it to Kronos. When the 'appointed time came' that stone which he had swallowed last he vomited forth and set it up on the wide-wayed Earth as a sign and a marvel.[4] In goodly Pytho it was seen by Pausanias,[5] it was anointed with oil day by day and had a yearly festival. It was not till the stone was vomited up that the thunder and lightning were let loose.[6] Long before Zeus was Zeus, thunder and lightning were divine potencies, their vehicle a thunder-stone; by such a thunder-stone was Pythagoras purified, on such a thunder-stone did he gaze in the Diktaean cave.

Given then a rite in which the catechumen is purified by a thunder-stone and which has for its culmination the probable, if not certain, *ἀνακάλυψις* of a thunderbolt on a throne, was it in human nature not to heighten the dramatic effect by adding the sound of simulated thunder?

Here again we are not left to conjecture: we have definite evidence that in certain mystery-rites thunder was actually imitated by bull-voiced mimes, by drums and other apparatus. Strabo[7] in his account of the Kouretes summarized above (p. 309) mentions that Aeschylus[8] in the lost

[1] *Arch. Zeit.* 1846, Taf. 38.

[2] Hes. *Theog.* 485. *τῷ δὲ σπαργανίσασα μέγαν λίθον ἐγγυάλιξεν.*

[3] Weibeck, *Kunstmythologie*, Atlas, iii. 24.

[4] Hes. *Theog.* 496.
πρῶτον δ' ἐξείμεσσε λίθον, πύματον καταπίνων·
τὸν μὲν Ζεὺς στήριξε κατὰ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης
Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ γυάλοις ὕπο Παρνησσοῖο
σῆμ' ἔμεν ἐξοπίσω, θαῦμα θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.

[5] x. 24. 7.

[6] See Prof. Gilbert Murray's illuminating analysis and interpretation of the confused Hesiodic account in *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 86.

[7] x. 470.

[8] Nauck, Frg. 57.
ταυρόφθογγοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνται
πόθεν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῖμοι
τυπάνου δ' εἰκὼν ὥσθ' ὑπογαίου
βροντῆς φέρεται βαρυταρβής.

Edoni says that the instruments of Kotys were used by the Thracians in their orgies of Dionysos. Kotys is but a Thraco-Phrygian form of the Mountain Mother to whom the Cretan mystic expressly states he held aloft the torches. She was variously called Kotys, Bendis, Rhea, Kybele. After describing the din made by the 'mountain gear' of Kotyto, the maddening hum of the *bombykes*, the clash of the bronze cymbals and the twang of strings, Aeschylus goes on '*And bull-voices roar thereto from somewhere out of the unseen, fearful semblances, and from a drum an image as it were of thunder underground is borne on the air heavy with dread.*'

Real thunder cannot be had to order, mimic thunder can, and we know was. Nor is it easy to imagine a more efficient instrument of ἔκπληξις. We know the very instrument with which in ancient days mimic thunder was manufactured, the famous Bull-roarer or ῥόμβος, the sound of whose whirring is mystical, awe-inspiring, and truly religious. It is like nothing in the world but itself, perhaps the nearest approach is the ominous sound of a rising storm-wind or angry imminent thunder. The rhombos is carefully described by the scholiast[1] on Clement of Alexandria in commenting on the passage quoted above, in which he describes 'the wholly inhuman mysteries of Dionysos Zagreus.' The rhombos, says the scholiast, is 'a bit of wood to which a string is tied, and it is whirled round and round at initiation rites to make a whirring sound.'

In the mysteries of Zagreus, then, as practised by the Kouretes and Idaean Daktyls, the initiated man (1) was purified by a thunderbolt, (2) heard mimic thunder, (3) beheld a thunderbolt on a throne. He may I think fairly be said after these experiences to have 'accomplished the Thunders.'

To resume, in the mysteries of Zagreus-Dionysos we have as certain elements:—

(1) The child and the toys, the famous *crepundia.*

[1] *Ad* Clemens Alex. *Cohort.* p. 5. Κῶνος καὶ ῥόμβος· ξυλάριον οὗ ἕξηπται τὸ σπαρτίον καὶ ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ἐδονεῖτο ἵνα ῥοιζῇ. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 700; the scholiast professes to explain κῶνος but, as Mr. A. B. Cook kindly pointed out to me, κῶνος is obviously some form of spinning top. The object described as a bit of wood with a string through it, is obviously a rhombos or Bull-roarer. The bibliography of the Bull-roarer is fully given by Dr. Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2], vol. iii. note 1. To the authorities here given must now be added the valuable papers by Mr. R. R. Marett, *Savage Supreme Beings and the Bull-Roarer*, in *Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1910, and M. van Gennep, *Mythes et Légendes d'Australie*, Introduction, pp. lxviii. ff. The interesting fragment of a Dipylon vase published by Mr. J. P. Droop, *B.S.A.* xii. p. 82, Fig. 2 (*b*) represents a rite of the making of thunder and lightning. But I reserve the discussion of this fragment for a future occasion.

(2) The death, disappearance or tearing to pieces of the child (*ἀφανισμός, σπαραγμός*).

(3) The re-appearance, re-birth, resurrection of the child (*ἀναβίωσις, παλιγγενεσία*).

(4) The Titans disguised with the white clay.

(5) The Thunder-Rites.

What does it all mean?

The orthodox explanation is that the child is a sort of vegetation spirit or corn-baby, torn to pieces in winter, revived in spring. I do not deny that in the myth there is an element of corn-baby, but the explanation cannot be regarded as satisfactory, as it fails to explain the Thunder-Rites, the Kouretes, and the Titans disguised with white clay.

I offer a simpler and I think more complete explanation. Every single element, however seemingly preposterous, in both the ritual and myth of Zagreus can be explained I believe by the analogy of *primitive rites of tribal initiation.*

This I had long suspected because of the white-clay-men. These I have already fully discussed elsewhere[1] and I need now only briefly resume what is necessary for the immediate argument. The word Titanes (white-clay-men) comes of course from *τῖτᾰνος*, white earth or clay, gypsum. The Titănes, the white-clay-men, were later, regardless of quantity, mythologized into Tītānes, Titans, giants. Harpocration,[2] explaining the word *ἀπομάττων*, says that the Titans, when they tore Dionysos to pieces were covered with a coat of gypsum in order that they might not be recognized. Later people when they were initiated went on doing the same thing and for the same reason that most people do most things nowadays, because 'it was the thing to do.' Nonnus[3] also says that the Titans were 'whitened with mystic gypsum.'

A coat of white paint was one means among many of making yourself up as a bogey, a ghost, and disguising your real character as a common

[1] See my *Prolegomena*, p. 492.

[2] *ἐκμιμούμενοι τὰ μυθολογούμενα παρ' ἐνίοις, ὡς ἄρα οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὸν Διόνυσον ἐλυμήναντο γύψῳ καταπλασάμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ γνώριμοι γενέσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔθνος ἐκλιπεῖν, πηλῷ δὲ ὕστερον καταπλάττεσθαι νομίμου χάριν.*

[3] Nonn. *Dionys.* xxvii. 228. *ἐλευκαίνοντο δὲ γύψῳ μυστιπόλῳ.*

human man. Any disguise reinforces the normal personality. A coat of white or sometimes black paint is the frequent disguise of savages to-day when, in ceremonies of initiation for the edification of their juniors, they counterfeit their tribal ancestors.

The Titans then, the white-clay-men, are real men dressed up as bogeys to perform initiation rites. It is only later when their meaning is forgotten that they are explained as Tītānes, mythological giants. Thus much was clear to me years ago: *i.e.* that under the myth of Zagreus lay some form of initiation rite. What I then did not see, though my blindness seems to me now almost incredible, was the significance of the child and the toys and above all why the child was first killed and then brought back to life. Nor did I understand the meaning of the Thunder-rites.

Again light came to me unexpectedly from a paper kindly sent to me by Dr. Frazer[1] containing an account of certain initiation ceremonies among the Wiradthuri tribes of New South Wales. This account must be briefly resumed:—

'At a certain stage in the initiation ceremonies of these tribes the women and children huddled together and were securely covered up with blankets and bushes. Then a number of men came from the sacred ground where the initiation ceremonies were performed. Some of them swung bull-roarers, and some of them took up lighted sticks from a fire, and threw them over the women and children "to make them believe that Dhuramoolan had tried to burn them." At a later period of the ceremonies the boys were similarly covered up with blankets, a large fire was kindled near them, and when the roaring of the wood and the crackling of the flames became audible, several old men began to swing bull-roarers, and the lads were told that Dhuramoolan was about to burn them. These performances were explained by a legend that Dhuramoolan, a powerful being, whose voice sounded like the rumbling of distant thunder, had been charged by a still more powerful being called Baiamai, with the duty of taking the boys away into the bush and instructing them in all the laws, traditions, and customs of the community. So Dhuramoolan pretended

[1] *On some Ceremonies of the Central Australian Tribes.* Melbourne, 1901. Dr. Frazer's authority is R. H. Matthews, *The Burbung of the Wiradthuri Tribes, Journal of Anthropological Institute*, xxv. (1896), pp. 297 *sq.*, 308, 311.

that he always killed the boys, cut them up, and burnt them to ashes, after which he moulded the ashes into human shape, and restored them to life as new beings.'

With the Cretan ritual in our minds it is clear that the Wiradthuri rites present more than an analogy; *mutato nomine* the account might have been written of Zagreus.

I have chosen the account of the Wiradthuri out of countless other instances, because in it we have the definite statement that the boys were burnt to ashes and Zagreus-like remodelled again in human shape. But everywhere in Africa, in America, in Australia, in the South Pacific Islands, we come upon what is practically the same sequence of ceremonies. When a boy is initiated, that is when he passes from childhood to adolescence, this pantomime, this terrifying (ἔκπληξις), this painting him with clay, this pretended killing of the child, and bringing him back to life again as a young man, is everywhere enacted. Till the boy has died and come to life again, till he has utterly 'put away childish things' he cannot be a full member of the tribe, he may not know the tribal secrets or dance the tribal dances, he may not handle bull-roarers, he cannot perform any of the functions of the full-grown man.

At and through his initiation the boy is brought into close communion with his tribal ancestors: he becomes socialized, part of the body politic. Henceforth he belongs to something bigger, more potent, more lasting, than his own individual existence: he is part of the stream of the totemic life, one with the generations before and yet to come.

So vital, so crucial is the change that the savage exhausts his imagination and his ingenuity in his emphasis of death and new birth. It is not enough to be killed, you must be torn to pieces or burnt to ashes. Above all you must utterly forget your past life. The precautions taken to secure this completeness of death and resurrection and consequent oblivion are sometimes disgusting enough. Murder is carefully counterfeited with the help of bladders of blood and the like. Sometimes the details are amusing: not only does the boy forget his own name that in this his social baptism he may receive a new one, but he does not know his own mother, he has forgotten how to speak and can only stammer, he cannot even swallow, he has to be artificially fed. He cannot come in straight at the door but must stumble in backwards. If he forgets and stupidly recognizes

his mother or eats his food in normal fashion he is taken back and 'huskin-awed' again.[1]

It is not only the passage from childhood to adolescence that among savages is marked by rites of initiation of death and resurrection. As Monsieur van Gennep[2] has well shown in his suggestive book, the ceremonies that accompany each successive stage of life, ceremonies, *i.e.* of birth, of marriage, of ordination as a medicine-man, and finally of death, are, no less than the ceremonies of adolescence, one and all *Rites de Passage*, ceremonies of transition, of going out from the old and going in to the new. In each and all the sequence is the same; purification (*κάθαρσις*) from the old must precede revelation (*ἀποκάλυψις*) of the new. In each and all the candidate must bathe in Lethe before he can drink of the waters of Mnemosyne. Looked at socially[3] the process is one of tribal initiation; moralized, spiritually envisaged, it becomes a Death unto Sin and a New Birth unto Righteousness, *ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον.*

We return now with material for a fuller understanding to the Kouretes. The Armed Dancers, the 'Mailed Priests' were also Child-Rearers (*παιδοτρόφοι*), 'Nurses as well as Slayers,' as the Orphic Hymn says.[4] These functions of the Kouretes and Korybantes, which seemed at the outset incongruous are now seen to be of the very essence of their being. They are armed because they have themselves attained to manhood; through initiation they are Child-Rearers, because in their turn they take the boys from their mothers and tend and initiate a new generation of warriors.

Their other functions fall easily and naturally into place. They are the inventors of the arts of civilization, because, if the investigations of recent

[1] For details as to Death and Resurrection element in initiation Ceremonies see H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, 1902; H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, 1908; H. Hubert and M. Mauss, *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions*, 1909, pp. 144 ff.; A. van Gennep, *Les rites de Passage*, 1909, pp. 93 ff.; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les Sociétés Inférieures*, 1910, pp. 409 ff.; and especially, Dr. J. G. Frazer, *G.B.* 13.[2] iii. pp. 423 ff.

[2] *Les Rites de Passage*, Paris, 1909.

[3] This is not the place to discuss the question how far religious conceptions are the outcome of collective representation and as such are socially induced. But I should like here to record my conviction that so far as Greek religion goes the theories of MM. Durkheim and Huber and Mauss are supported by the fact that Orphic ritual and religion clearly takes its rise socially in tribal initiation rites. In the light of these new sociological investigations the phenomena of early Greek religion as well as early Greek philosophy will have to be entirely reconsidered, a matter to which, together with the question of Lethe, Mnemosyne, and the Platonic *ἀνάμνησις*, I hope to return in another connection

[4] xxxviii. 14 *τροφέες τε καὶ αὖτ' ὀλετῆρες.*

anthropologists[1] are correct, it is not so much about the family and the domestic hearth that the beginnings of the arts cluster, as about the institution know as the Man's House.[2] Here unencumbered by woman, man practises and develops his diverse crafts, makes his weapons, his boats, his sacred images, his dancing masks. Even after marriage when he counts as an elderly man, he returns to the Man's House to keep in touch with civilization and the outside world. The Kouretes at Messene had, Pausanias[3] tells us, not a *naos* but a *megaron*.[4]

Equally explicable in the light of initiation is the function of Kouretes and Korybantes as *Dancers*. Pantomimic dancing is of the essence of each and every primitive mystery. To disclose the mysteries is as Lucian[5] puts it 'to dance out the mysteries.' Instruction among savage peoples is always imparted more or less in mimetic dances.[6] At initiation you learn certain dances which confer on you definite social status. When a man is too old to dance, he hands over his dance to another and a younger, and he then among some tribes ceases to exist socially. His funeral when he dies is celebrated with scanty and perfunctory rites ; having lost his dance he is a negligible social unit.[7]

Finally in the light of initiation ceremonies we understand why the Kouretes and Korybantes though they are real live youths are yet regarded as *δαίμονες*, as half-divine,[8] as possessed (*ἔνθεοι*), enthusiastic, ecstatic and why their ceremonies are characterized by Strabo[9] as orgiastic. The precise meaning of orgies will concern us later, for the present it is

[1] See especially H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen and Männerbünde*, p. 48.

[2] H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, ch. i.

[3] iv. 31. 7 *Κουρήτων μέγαρον ἔνθα ζῷα τὰ πάντα ὁμοίως καθαγίζουσιν.*

[4] That institutions analogous to those of the Man's House among savages lived on in Crete we have abundant evidence in Strabo's account (B. x.) of Cretan institutions. The *Ἀγέλαι* with their *ἄρχοντες*, the *συσσίτια*, the *ἀνδρεῖα* clearly belong to the same social morphology as the Männerhaus. It is probable that the *ἁρπαγή* and the custom *ἀποκρύπτειν τὸν παῖδα* (B. x. 483), is a misunderstanding and in part a corruption of primitive initiation ceremonies.

[5] *Pisc.* 33. *ἤν τινα καὶ τῶν μεμυημένων ἰδὼν ἐξαγορεύοντα τοῖν θεοῖν τὰ τἀπόρρητα καὶ ἐξορχούμενον ἀγανακτήσω . . .*

[6] Webster, *op. cit.* pp. 50, 51.

[7] R. Hertz, *Contribution à une étude sur la représentation collective de la mort. Année Sociologique*, x. 1905–6.

[8] Epimenides of Knossos, the typical medicine-man of antiquity, was addressed as *Κούρης νέος* —he had the power of leaving his body and returning to it at will—see Suidas, *s.v.* *Ἐπιμενίδης*, —he was *δεινὸς τὰ θεῖα*—he acquired his lore not by learning but through the teaching of a dream. He is said to have written a *Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσις*. He was, some said, worshipped by the Cretans as a god, see Diog. Laert. i. 111–115, and Max. Tyr. c. 22, p. 224.

[9] x. 465. *ὡς δὲ τύπῳ εἰπεῖν καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλέον, ἅπαντας ἐνθουσιαστικούς τινας καὶ Βακχικούς.*

enough to note that in most savage mysteries it is a main part of the duty of initiators to impersonate gods or demons. The initiators dress up as the ancestral ghosts of the tribe, sometimes even wearing the actual skulls[1] of their ancestors, and in this disguise dance round the catechumens and terrify them half out of their senses. It is only when fully initiated that the boys learn that these terrific figures are not spirits at all but just their living uncles and cousins.[2] The secret is never imparted to women and children. To do so would be death.

The Kouretes as ancestral ghosts are not yet gods but, as remarked at the outset, they are the stuff of which primitive gods are made. The divine personage of the myth, as distinguished from the ritual of the Kouretes, was originally a *κοῦρος*, later he sank to be a child, a babe, variously called Zagreus, Dionysos, Zeus. We may suspect that the Greeks when they lost touch with the real meaning of the rites of adolescence invented Infant-Initiation.[3] Anyhow to later theologians the 'infant' Zeus always presented something of difficulty if not of scandal: a babe is the attribute of a divine Mother rather than of a divine Father, and an infant Zeus, the cult of the mother once overshadowed, needed apology. It was consigned to a 'local legend' and was due to 'contaminatio with the child Dionysos.'

With the discovery of the Palaikastro Hymn the Kouros came to his own again. The maiden worships Kore the Maid, the mother worships the Mother, *Meter* or *Maia*; the senate of elders, the *γέροντες* worship Zeus the Counsellor. But the young men in their pride, released from boyhood and the sway of women, the young men armed and ripe for marriage, the Kouretes, worship their own image, their prince of youths, their greatest Kouros,[4]

Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι.

[1] H. Schurtz, *op. cit.* p. 358.

[2] H. Webster, *op. cit.* pp. 101 and 187.

[3] There may have been, as Mr. Hugh E. Seebohm kindly points out to me, a blend of the various rites undergone at successive ages, birth, puberty, etc.

[4] In the archaic votive inscriptions of Thera carved on the living rock *Koures* occurs three times, each time with a *Koppa*, see *I.G.I.M.A.* iii. 354, 355, 371, and Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Die archäische Kultur d. Insel Thera*, Berlin, 1897, p. 17. For local cults of the Kouretes, see Prof. Bosanquet's paper.

The Kouros as Year-God.

Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἕρ-
πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾷ.

The function of the Kouros, the Divine Youth, is to bring fertility; at his coming come prosperity, physical and moral, to bees and flocks and herds, to men and cities and sea-faring ships.

Moreover, and again the phrase is arresting, the Invocation Hymn (ὕμνος κλητικός) bids the Kouros come 'for the year' (εἰς ἐνιαυτόν). What does εἰς ἐνιαυτόν precisely mean? What is the connection between the Year and the Divine Young Man?

With the Greek mythology, *i.e.* intellectual *representation* is always apt to obscure ritual. The Kouretes have become mythological, their ritual meaning as initiators has been, we have seen, obscured. Still more obscure is their function as δαίμονες of the year. Happily certain kindred Roman figures kept their actuality, and their ritual functions as δαίμονες of the year are clearly defined. The word constantly recurring brings to mind inevitably these Roman functionaries. It is impossible to hear the ritual injunction θόρε without recalling the Roman 'leapers,' the Salii. In the light of the Salii the riddle of the Kouros as Year-God is easily read.

(*a*) *The Salii: Mamurius Veturius and Anna Perenna.*

Denys of Halicarnassos[1] in his full and interesting account of the Salii saw that Kouretes and Salii were substantially the same: 'In my opinion,' he says, 'the Salioi are what in the Greek language are called Kouretes, we (*i.e.* the Greeks) give them their name from their age, from the word κοῦροι, the Romans from their strenuous movements, for jumping and leaping is called by the Romans *salire*.' Denys exactly hits the mark, the term *Kouretes* expresses the essential fact common to Salii, Korybantes, etc., that all are youths; the various special names, the meanings of some of which are lost, emphasize particular functions.

Denys[2] describes in detail the accoutrement of the Salii, which reminds us rather of priest than warrior. He notes the purple chitons and

[1] *Ant. Rom.* ii. 70, 71. καί εἰσιν οἱ σάλιοι κατὰ γοῦν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην Ἑλληνικῷ μεθερμηνευθέντες ὀνόματι Κουρῆτες, ὑφ' ἡμῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας οὕτως ὠνομασμένοι παρὰ τοὺς κούρους, ὑπὸ δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ τῆς συντόνου κινήσεως. τὸ γὰρ ἐξάλλεσθαί τε καὶ πηδᾶν σαλῖρε ὑπ' αὐτῶν λέγεται.

[2] *Loc. cit.* καὶ τὰς καλουμένας ἀπίκας ἐπικείμενοι ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, πίλους ὑψηλοὺς εἰς σχῆμα συναγομένους κωνοειδές, ἃς Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσι κυρβασίας.

bronze girdles, the short cloaks and the conical caps[1] (*apices*) called, he says, by the Greeks *κυρβασίαι*, a name with which very possibly the word Kurbas, a bye-form of Korybas, was connected. One point in his description is of special interest: Each man, he says, is girt with a sword and in his right hand wields 'a spear or a staff or something of that sort,'[2] in his left is a Thracian shield. We think of the Salii as clashing their swords on their shields, but the Salii seen by Denys seem to have had some implement as to the exact nature of which Denys is uncertain.

The design in Fig. 6 from a relief found at Anagni[3] may throw some light on this uncertainty. The Salii are shown in long priestly robes with

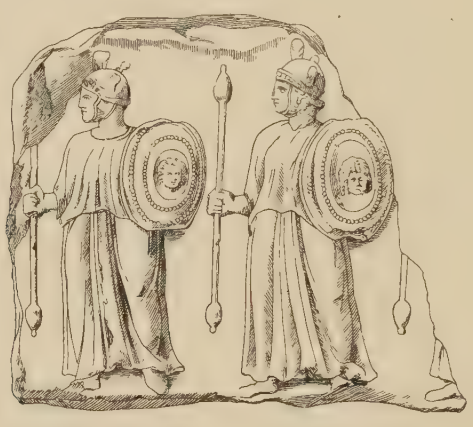


FIG. 6.—RELIEF FROM ANAGNI.

shields in their left hands. In their right is not, as we should expect, a spear or a sword but an implement that may be a double drumstick.[4] Some such implements Denys must have seen. This looks back to the old

[1] Among savages a conical cap of striking appearance is a frequent element in the disguise of the initiator or medicine-man. See Schurtz, *op. cit.* pp. 336, 370, 384, and L. v. Schroeder, *Mimus und Mysterium*, p. 476, and Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 78.

[2] *Loc. cit.* παρέζωσται δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ξίφος καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ λόγχην ἢ ῥάβδον ἤ τι τοιοῦθ' ἕτερον κρατεῖ, τῇ δ' εὐωνύμῳ κατέχει πέλτην Θρᾳκίαν.

[3] *Annali d. Inst.* 1869, Tav. d'agg. E. O. Benndorf, who publishes the relief does not say where it now is.

[4] Mr. Cyril Bailey suggests to me that it may represent some sort of thunder-making implement, and kindly reminds me that a fragment of the *Carmen Saliare* reads :—

Cume tonas Leucesie prae tet tremonti
quom tibi cunei dextumum tonaront.

To the question of these implements I hope to return on another occasion in a discussion of Thunder-Rites.

days when the shield was not of metal but of skin. Euripides[1] speaking of Crete, says that there the triple-crested Korybantes found for Dionysos and his Bacchants their 'skin-stretched orb.' In a word timbrel and shield were one and the same, a skin stretched on a circular or oval frame and played on with a drumstick; the gear of Salii and Korybantes alike was, to begin with, musical as well as military.

The helmets worn by the Salii on the relief may also be noted. They are not of the form we should expect as representing the canonical *apex*. They have three projections and in this respect recall the 'triple-crested' Korybants of Euripides.[2] Possibly the central knob may have been originally of greater length and prominence and may have given its name to the apex. The shields carried on the Anagni relief are slightly oblong but not indented; the regular indented 'Mycenaean' shape is well seen on an Etruscan gem in the Museum at Florence.[3]

The first month of the old Roman year, March, the month of Mars, was given up to the activities of the Salii. We have no evidence that they took any part in initiation ceremonies, but it is worth noting that it was in the month of March (17th) at the Liberalia, that, according to Ovid,[4] the Roman boy assumed the toga. This assumption qualified him for military service and may have been the last survival of a tribal initiation ceremony. On the first day of the year, the birthday of Mars, it was fabled, the original *ancile* fell from heaven[5] and through the greater part of the month the holy shields were kept 'moving.' Of the various and complex ceremonials conducted by the Salii we need only examine two,[6] which throw light, I think, on the Palaikastro hymn :—

[1] *Bacch.* 123.

ἔνθα τρικόρυθες ἄντροις
βυρσότονον κύκλωμα τόδε
μοι Κορύβαντες ηὗρον.

[2] *Loc. cit. supra.*

[3] See Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, p. 455, Fig. 83. Denys states that the shield carried on the left arm was a Thracian *pelta*. Prof. Ridgeway concludes (*op. cit.* p. 465) that it was the shield of the true Thracians, the kindred of the Mycenaean people, and that it survived in the rites of the Kouretes. According to Clement (*Strom.* i. 16, *sub init.*) the *pelta* was invented by the Illyrians, who, if Prof. Ridgeway is right, belong to the primitive Aegean stock. A curious double *ancile* appears on a denarius of P. Licinius Stolo, figured by Mr. W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 350. On the same coin the *apex* is very clearly shown.

[4] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 771. Restat ut inveniam quare toga libera detur
Lucifero pueris, candide Bacche, tuo.

[5] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 259–273.

[6] The sources for both festivals are fully given in Roscher's *Lexicon*, *s.v. Mars*, and in Mr. Warde Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, pp. 44–54.

(*a*) the Mamuralia (March 14).
(*b*) the festival of Anna Perenna (March 15).

Both have substantially the same content.

Ovid[1] asks

'Who now will tell me why the Salii bear
Mars' sacred arms and chant Mamurius?'

The question has been long ago answered by Mannhardt, Usener, and Dr. Frazer.[2] Ovid will have it that Mamurius is commemorated because he was the skilful smith who made the eleven counterfeit *ancilia*, but Lydus[3] lets out the truth. On March 14, the day before the first full moon of the new year, a man dressed in goat-skins was led in procession through the streets of Rome beaten with long white rods and driven out of the city. His name was, Lydus says, Mamurius, and Mamurius we know was also called Veturius.[4] He is the old Year, the Old Mars, the Death, Winter, driven out before the incoming of the New Mars, the spring.

Not less transparent as a year-god is Anna Perenna, 'Year-in year-out.' The details of her festival have no special significance: Ovid[5] describes it as a rude drinking bout of the plebs; men and women revelled together, some in the open Campus Martius, others in rough huts made of stakes and branches; they sang and danced and prayed for as many years of life as they could drink cups of wine. It was just an ordinary New Year's festival. Lydus[6] gives us the gist of it though he does not mention Anna Perrena. On the Ides of March he says there were public prayers that the coming year might be healthy.[7] The name Anna Perenna speaks for itself. Obviously Anna is the year, presumably the New Year, *Perenna*[8] is the year just passed through, the Old Year—*perannare*

[1] *Fasti*, iii. 259. Quis mihi nunc dicat, quare celestia Martis
Arma ferant Salii, Mamuriumque canant?

[2] Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, 266, 297; Usener, *Italische Mythen*, in *Rhein. Mus.* 1875, p. 183; Frazer, *op. cit.*[2] vol. iii. pp. 122 ff.

[3] *De Mens.* iv. 49. ἤγετο δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπος περιβεβλημένος δοραῖς, καὶ τοῦτον ἔπαιον ῥάβδοις λεπταῖς ἐπιμήκεσι Μαμούριον αὐτὸν καλοῦντες.

[4] The reduplicated form Marmar occurs in the *Carmen Arvale* and from it Mamurius is probably formed, see Walde, *Lat. Etym. Wörterbuch. s.v.*; for Veturius as the old year, cf. Gk. *Fέτος*.

[5] *Fasti*, iii. 523 ff.

[6] *De Mens. loc. cit.*

[7] *De Mens.* iv. 49. καὶ εὐχαὶ δημόσιαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑγιεινὸν γενέσθαι τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

[8] Varro, *Sat. Menipp.* p. 506, 'Fe Anna ac Peranna,' and Macrob. i. 12. 6, publice et privatim ad Annam Perennam sacrificatum itur ut annare et perannare commode liceat.

is to live the year through—Anna Perenna was not two divinities but as it were a Janus with two faces, one looking back, one forward, Prorsa, Postverta. This comes out very clearly in a story told by Ovid,[1] a story that *may* reflect a bit of rustic ritual. Mars is about to marry; the wedding-day is come, he seeks his bride. Instead he finds old Anna (Anna Perenna) who has veiled her face and counterfeits the bride.[2] The young Year-god will wed the young Year-goddess, Anna; the old Year-goddess he cannot and will not wed. Anna Perenna is but the feminine equivalent of Mamurius Veturius.

Ovid[3] piles up conjectures as to who and what Anna was. Out of his rubbish heap we may pick up one priceless jewel :—

> 'Some are there to whom Anna is the Moon,
> For with her months she fills the circling year.
> Some call her Themis, others call her Io.'

Luna, Themis (order), and the Inachian cow are of course all one and the same, the Moon as the Measurer and as the Hornèd Wanderer through the sky. Man measures time first by recurrent days and nights, then by recurrent Moons, then by the circle of the Sun's year and its seasons, finally he tries to adjust his Sun Year to twelve Moon-months.[4] Eleven Moon-shields[5] counterfeit the one actual Moon-month. Broadly speaking Anna, though she cannot be said to *be* the Moon stands for the Moon-Year, Mamurius for the Sun-Year, and Anna is the earlier figure of the two.

This idea of Anna and Mamurius as Moon-Year and Sun-Year throws light on a curious Etruscan monument that has hitherto baffled explanation. In Fig. 7 we have a portion of the design from a Praenestine cista[6] now in the Berlin Museum. *Menerva* holds a young

[1] *Fasti*, iii. 695. Ovid recounts the story as aeteological,
Inde ioci veteres obscaenaque dicta canuntur.

[2] For the whole subject of May Brides and the False Bride, see Miss G. M. Godden, *Folklore*, iv. 1893, pp. 142 ff.

[3] Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 657.
Sunt quibus haec Luna est, quia mensibus impleat annum :
Pars Themin, Inachiam pars putat esse bovem.

[4] The development among primitive peoples from weather-gods (*e.g.* thunder) to sun- and moon-gods, a sequence which appears to be regular, is well explained by E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, vol. i. pp. 491 ff.

[5] I am convinced that the twelve ancilia represent twelve moon-months, but the discussion would involve the kindred question of the Palladia and would exceed the space at my command.

[6] *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. Tav. 58. See Marx, *Ein neuer Ares Mythus*, *A.Z.* 43, 1885, p. 169.

boy over a vessel full of flaming fire, she seems to be anointing his lips. The boy is armed with spear and shield, and his name is inscribed *Mars*: the scene is one of triumph, for over *Menerva* floats a small winged Victory holding a taenia. The scene is one of great solemnity and significance, for on the rest of the design, not figured here, we have an influential assembly of gods, *Juno, Jonos, Mercuris, Hercle, Apolo, Leiber.*

If Mars were but the War-God, what sense is there in this baptism of fire? But for the young Sun what could be more significant? At the Sun-festivals of the solstice[1] to-day to feed the sun and kindle him anew

FIG. 7.—DESIGN FROM A PRAENESTINE CISTA IN BERLIN.

and speed his going, the *Johannisfeuer* is lighted year by year and the blazing wheel rolled down the hill.

The band of honeysuckle ornament that runs round the cista is oddly broken just at the point above the young Sun-god's head by the figure of the triple Kerberos. A strange apparition, but he ceases to be irrelevant when we remember that Hekate the Moon, to whom dogs were offered[2] at the crossways, was once a three-headed dog herself.

[1] H. Gaidoz, *Le Dieu Gaulois du Soleil et le Symbolisme de la Rome*, *Rev. Arch.* 1884, 32 ff.

[2] Maurice Blomfield, *Cerberus the Dog of Hades*, 1905. Cerberus gabalas the heavenly dog of the Veda was later translated to Hades. Cf. the fate of Ixion. For Hekate as dog, cf. Porph. *de Abstin.* iii. 17, ἡ δ' Ἑκάτη ταῦρος, κύων, λέαινα.

From the Salii we have learnt that the function of the armed dancers of Rome was to drive out the Old Year, the Old Mars, and bring in the New. Mars as a Year-God, like the Greek Ares, and indeed like almost every other male God, took on aspects of the Sun, Anna Perenna of the Moon. Can we trace in the Kouretes any like function?

(*b*) *The Young Sun-God and Zagreus.*

The design in Fig. 8[1] is from a red-figured krater in the Louvre: Helios is rising from the sea. By an odd conjunction he has, to bear him on his way, both boat and quadriga. His horses are guided by Pan holding a quadruple torch. To the right hand stands a dancing Korybant

FIG. 8.—DESIGN FROM A KRATER IN THE LOUVRE.

or Koures, with shield and uplifted spear. In the chariot with Helios, again by an odd conjunction, as they cannot rise together, stands the horned Selene: clearly the vase-painter recognized that one function of the Kouretes was to clash his shield at the rising of the Sun, and, it may be at the rising of the Moon. In like fashion on another vase[2] a band of Satyrs dance to greet the rising Sun.

[1] *Annali d. Inst.* 1852, Pl. F. 3. Nonnus also makes the Korybantes dance at dawn, *op. cit.* 361.

ἤδη δ' ἔκλαγεν ὄρνις ἑώιος ἠέρα τέμνων,
καὶ στίχες εὐπήληκες ἐρημονόμων Κορυβάντων
Κνώσσιον ἐκρούσαντο σακέσπαλον ἅλμα χορείης
ἴχνεσι μετρητοῖσιν.

[2] E. Gerhard, *Über die Lichtgottheiten*, Tav. i. 1.

The custom of greeting the rising sun with dances and the clash of instruments is world-wide. Lucian[1] says that the Indians when they rise at dawn worship Helios, and he adds that they do not, like the Greeks, account their devotion complete when they have kissed their hands, but they stand facing the east and greet the Helios by dancing, assuming certain attitudes in silence and imitating the dance of the god; the intent is obviously magical, man dances to reinforce his own emotion and activity; so does the sun; and man's dance has power to reinforce the strength of the rising sun. In Germany, Scandinavia, and England the belief is still current that on Easter Morning the sun dances and leaps three times for joy.[2] The Dawn with the Greeks had her dancing places.[3] In the light of such representations it is not surprising that the Korybantes should be called the children of Helios[4] and we understand why Julian[5] says 'Great Helios who is enthroned with the Mother is Korybas,' and again, 'the Mother of the gods allowed this minion of hers to leap about that he might resemble the sunbeams.' Rites often die down into children's games and Pollux[6] tells us that there was a game called 'Shine out Sun,' in which children made a din when a cloud covered the sun.

The notion of the young sun-god throws light on that perplexing figure Zagreus.[7] Zagreus is at the outset like Dionysos himself a thunder-child, offspring of the sky-god. We have already seen from the Hesiodic account (p. 321) that Zeus the child of Kronos is primarily a thunder-stone, his birth sets loose the thunder and lightning. The next stage is that the thunder-stone becomes a human child, but in token of his origin, the child is still obliged, inappropriately enough, to hold a thunder-stone.

[1] *De Salt.* 17. . . . ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν στάντες ὀρχήσει τὸν Ἥλιον ἀσπάζονται σχηματίζοντες ἑαυτοὺς σιωπῇ καὶ μιμούμενοι τὴν χορείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

[2] See L. v. Schroeder, *Mimus und Mysterium*, p. 45, and Usener, *Paspários* in *Rhein. Mus.* 1894, p. 464.

[3] *Od.* xii. 4.

ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης
οἰκία καὶ χοροί εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο.

[4] Strabo, 202. . . . ὡς εἶεν Κορύβαντες δαίμονές τινες Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡλίου παῖδες.

[5] Cf. v. 167. Κορύβας ὁ μέγας ἥλιος ὁ σύνθρονος τῇ Μητρί, and 168.

[6] ix. 123. Ἡ δὲ ἔξεχ', ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε, παιδιά, κρότον ἔχει τῶν παιδίων σὺν τῷ ἐπιβοήματι τούτῳ, ὁπόταν νέφος ἐπιδράμῃ τὸν θεόν· ὅθεν καὶ Στράττις ἐν Φοινίσσαις,

εἶθ' ἥλιος μὲν πείθεται τοῖς παιδίοις,
ὅταν λέγωσιν, ἔξεχ', ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε.

[7] The object of this paper is rather the study of the social institutions (initiation ceremonies) out of which mythological representations arose than of the mythological figures themselves, but some notion of the content of Zagreus is essential to the argument.

Nonnus[1] is never tired of insisting on how Zeus gave to Zagreus the thunderbolt to wield while he was yet a prattling babe. As attention is drawn less to weather-portents and more to the orderly phenomena of the sky, Zagreus becomes more sun- and year-god, less weather-god. As child he is the young sun reborn each day and like the young Mars, each spring. But he has also his mature shape as full-grown sky-god. Our earliest literary source, the *Alkmaeonis*[2] addresses him as correlative of Ge and as 'chief of all the gods.' Moreover like all sun- and sky- and year-gods, he is also a son of Hades,[3] he is the setting as well as the rising sun.[4]

The Kouretes as Ὀργιοφάνται.

The Kouros then as Young-Man expresses, and is to his worshippers, the Young Year, and as such has elements belonging to Sun and Moon, who rule and measure the Year. Sun and Moon and Year need their initiation ceremonies that they too may be young and strong and fertile. The hymn preserves, but only half consciously, some very primitive thinking. Most primitive of all is the ritual prescription 'leap' (*θόρε*): the Kouros is adjured to 'leap' for flocks and herds and ships. The conjunction of prayer, or rather adjuration, and ritual act is significant. Prayer is addressed to every Olympian and first and foremost to Zeus, but the injunction 'leap' lands us straight in the heart of primitive magic, and throws a flood of light on the characteristic rites of Kouretes and Korybantes, the *ὄργια*.

The Kouretes, an Orphic hymn[5] says, are *ὀργιοφάνται*, showers-forth, demonstrators of, orgies. The rites of Dionysos, of The Mother and of Demeter are constantly spoken of as *ὄργια*. What are *ὄργια*?

[1] x. 293. Bacchus reproaches Zeus with the favour shown to Zagreus,

Νηπιάχῳ μὲν ἔειπεν ἐμὴ τροφὸς εἰσέτι Ῥείη
ὡς στεροπὴν Ζαγρῆι πόρες, προτέρῳ Διονύσῳ
εἰσέτι παππάζοντι.

[2] *Frg.* Πότνια Γῆ, Ζαγρεῦ τε θεῶν πανυπέρτατε πάντων.

[3] Nauck, *frg.* 228. Ζαγρεῦ τε νῦν με καὶ πολυξένῳ
χαίρειν.

[4] There is abundant evidence of the worship of a primitive sun- and sky-god in Crete. For the Cretan sun-king Talos, Tan, Minotaur, and the solar labyrinth, see A. B. Cook, *Class. Rev.* 1903, p. 410.

[5] xxi. 5. *μητρὸς ὀρειμανέος συνοπάονες ὀργιοφάνται.*

Never had word so sad a downward history. The most exact scholars[1] think it no shame to translate ὄργια as orgies, a word which to us, connotes licentiousness; yet primitive orgies are of blameless and even virtuous origin. The whole gist is that they are as the name suggests, strenuous, they are rites of magical working. The savage promotes the fertility of flocks and fields by rites of dancing, he enacts in pantomime what he wishes done, he dances the desired deed. Such rites are ὄργια, strenuous from the outset. For Hesiod ἔργα are the tilled fields, and ὄργια are surely the magical rites that make tillage effectual. The associations that for us cluster round dancing are as misleading as is the modern connotation of orgy. Dancing suggests to us a laxity, a frivolity apt to border on license; Aeschylus[2] makes his chorus say, 'my heart is dancing with fear.' We comment on the poetical use of the verb ὀρχεῖσθαι, but the use is literal and simple. ὀρχεῖσθαι is not primarily to dance in measured steps for purposes of amusement, it is instinctive excited movement under the influence of strong emotion, it is the German *beben*.[3]

In the *orgies* of Demeter and Dionysos we have then the primitive magical *working* rites of initiation. These magical working rites gradually passed 'from Spell to Prayer,'[4] and as sacralization developed into gift-sacrifice, the vague collective δαίμονες blossomed into full-grown individualized θεοί. But the notion of ὄργια and τελεταί, workings and accomplishments, never wholly died out. They lived on in the various mysteries[5] and these mysteries, for all the pomp and prayer and praise and sacrifice to the Olympians, remained the kernel and the secret regenerating strength of the religious life of Greece.

JANE E. HARRISON.

[1] Professor Gilbert Murray alone protests. 'As for Ὄργια it is not so much that "orgies" is an unfortunate word; it is that we most of us do not understand what "orgia" exactly were, and we wish to know. "Rites" or "things done" as opposed to "things said" would help us, but we need more.'

[2] *Choeph.* 167. ὀρψεῖται δὲ καρδία φόβῳ.

[3] Compare Altind. *rghâjáti* which is used of the trembling and swaying of mountains at the birth of Indra. See Leo Meyer, *Handbuch der Deutschen Etymologie*, vol. 1, p. 574.

[4] See Mr. R. R. Marett's *Threshold of Religion*, p. 33.

[5] That the figure of the Koures actually survived in the Eleusinian mysteries we are told by Psellus, *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus*, 3, καὶ Κορύβας ἄλλος καὶ Κούρης ἕτερος δαιμόνων μιμήματα. Ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Βαυβὼ κ.τ.λ. See my *Prolegomena*, p. 569.

THE PALAIKASTRO HYMN OF THE KOURETES.

(PLATE XX.)

THE inscribed fragments here published were discovered in the third season of the excavations at Palaikastro. We knew already that a Hellenic temple had stood on the site of the Minoan town. The building itself had been destroyed, but architectural terracottas, bronze shields, and other votive offerings were found near the surface in sufficient numbers to indicate its position, while a bed of ashes fixed that of the altar. The finding among its scattered débris of a Hymn addressed to Zeus of Dikte furnished a welcome identification. It left no doubt that our temple was the temple of Diktaean Zeus which is several times mentioned in the famous award of the Magnesian Arbitrators in the frontier dispute between Itanos and Hierapytna, and that the plain of Palaikastro was the Heleia which both cities claimed.

The Hymn was to have been published by Sir Richard Jebb, who gave the first preliminary account of it at the Annual Meeting of the Hellenic Society in 1904. His lamented death cut short his study of it, and I have to thank Prof. Gilbert Murray for his kindness in undertaking the restoration of the text and contributing the notes which follow this article.

The site of the temple, and its significant relation to a far earlier sanctuary in the buried Minoan town, have been described in *B.S.A.* xi. 298 ff. The three fragments of the inscription were found at the south-east end of the main street in a deep pocket of disturbed earth and stones, the middle and lower fragments near together on May 24, 1904, the upper one five feet away on May 28.[1] The pit in which they lay descended into the Minoan *strata* and had evidently been dug in some recent search for building-stones. Only one other fragment was found—a small piece which joins the lower edge of the middle fragment and is of value as showing where the inscription on the Face finished. In the course of the excavation the whole of the adjoining ground was searched and the field-walls demolished, but no further fragment of this or any other inscription came to light. Probably the missing pieces are built into one of the older houses or churches of the Palaikastro district. We can point to two inscriptions from our site which have travelled in this way. One is the fragment of a treaty between Hierapytna and Knossos, built into the church of Ἅγιος Νικόλαος three miles inland.[2] The other is a slab recording the restoration of certain images in the temple of Diktaean Zeus, found in making a garden a mile to the north-west of the ancient site. The latter case is especially clear, since the stone is still encrusted with the characteristic red earth of Roussolakkos.[3]

More than half the stele is missing, but a great part of the text is preserved, thanks to the unusual circumstance that two copies of it were engraved on the same stone. Apparently the stone-cutter made so many blunders that the authorities rejected his first attempt before it was finished, and had a fresh version executed on the other

[1] See the key-plan in *B.S.A.* xi. Pl. X. The spot is almost on the line between squares **M** 6 and **N** 6.

[2] First copied by Prof. Halbherr, *Mus. Ital.* iii. 612. Compare Mr. Tod's remarks in *B.S.A.* ix. 337.

[3] The find was reported to the Candia Museum, and one of the Ephors, Mr. Xanthoudides, published the inscription with an excellent commentary in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908. 197 ff. Unfortunately it did not occur to him to communicate with the British School at Athens, to which the Cretan Government had granted the right of excavation over this region, nor even to visit the spot. In consequence the opportunity for further investigation was lost. I have since questioned the finder, one of our own workmen. There was a large quantity of stone of the kinds common at Roussolakkos, especially the much-prized square πελέκια—probably the hoard of some one who intended to build a house; building was postponed and the stones buried to protect them from neighbouring collectors.

side of the slab. I shall call the defective copy the *Back*, the fair copy the *Face*.

Fragments, including upper and lower edge, of a stele of grey crystalline limestone with white veins originally ·49 m. broad, ·053 m. thick, and at least 1·05 m. high. Engraved on both sides. Incised guide-lines used throughout for top and bottom of letters. Height of letters on Face, Fragment I., varies from ·017 (ll. 1–8) to ·010 (ll. 9–11): on Face, Fragment II., it is regularly ·014; on Back at first ·012, increasing below to ·017. On the right edge of Face and left edge of Back there is a rough raised margin, ·03 broad, which is not inscribed.

Forms Є, Ƶ, C, Ω; but e for Є several times on Back. Δ occurs on both sides. A is often Ꭺ, especially on Back. ꟽ on Back and once (l. 1) on Face, where M is normal. Ꝯ for Z. In general the lettering is bold and careful on the Face, feeble and inaccurate on the Back. Most of the latter's blunders are due to a carelessly written copy, in which A, Λ, and Δ, Є and C, B, Θ and O, e and P, were much alike. The date of the inscription is probably not earlier than 200 A.D.[1] Dated inscriptions of the Roman age are rare in Crete. The nearest parallels are furnished by certain inscriptions in honour of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. On a base found at Itanos (*Mus. Ital.* iii. 589, Halbherr), which supported statues of these two emperors, the lines relating to Severus have Σ and Ω, those to Caracalla C and Ω. An inscription at Gortys in honour of Septimius Severus has C, but retains the apices characteristic of the second century (*Mon. Ant. dei Lincei*, i. 69); another set up under Caracalla (probably between 213 and 221), has Λ, Є, C, Ω (*ib.* xviii. 317). Many of the late tombstones of Eastern Crete which use the formula *μνήμης χάριν* have forms resembling those of the Hymn, but they cannot be dated. A and e, which appear on the Back, are hardly used on stone before Christian times but were common in cursive long before. I have found no parallel for the use of Ꝯ for Z; normally of course it stands for Ξ.

In the transcription which follows I have numbered the lines of Face and Back consecutively, but have arranged the fragments so as to bring together the corresponding parts of the text. The conjectural restorations are for the most part Professor Murray's. See pages 357 ff. below.

[1] Professor Halbherr kindly examined the stone and is of this opinion.

Face I.

ΙΩΜΕΓΙΣΤΕΚΟΥΡΕΧΑΙΡΕΜΟΙΚΡΟ
ΝΕΙΕΠΑΤΝΚΡΑΤΕΣΓΑΝΟΥΣΒΕΒΑΚΕΣ
ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝΑΓΩΜΕΝΟΣΔΙΚΤΑΝΕΣ
ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝΕΡΠΕΚΑΙΓΕΓΑΘΙΜΟΛΠΑ
ΤΑΝΤΟΙΚΡΕΚΟΜΕΝΠΑΚΤΙΣΙΜΕΙΖΑΝ
ΤΕΣΑΜΑΥΛΟΙΣΙΝΚΑΙΣΤΑΝΤΕΣΑΕΙΔΟΜΕΝ
ΤΕΟΝΑΜΦΙΒΩΜΟΝΟΥΕΡΚΗ ∽ ΙΩΜΕΠΙ
ΓΟΥΡΕΧΑΙΡΕΜΟΙΚΡΟΝΕΙΕΠΑΤΝΚΡΑ
ΛΙΜΟΝΩΝΑΓΩΜΕΝΟΣΔΙΚΤΑΝΕΣΕΝΙ
ΕΝΘΑΓΑΡΣΕΠΑΙΔΑΑΜ
ΠΔΡΡΕΑΣΛΑΒΟΝΤΕ

Back I.

ΑΝΤΟΙΚΡΕΚΟΜΕΝΠΑΚΤΙΣΙΜΕΙΖΑΝΤΕΣΑΜΑΥΛΟΙΣΙΝ
ΚΑΙΣΤΑΝΤΕΣΑΕΙΔΟΜΕΝΤΕΟΝΑΜΦΙΒΩΜΟΝΣΥΕΙΚΗ

ΕΛΑΠΕΙΔΟΗΙΟΛΠΛΝ
ΓΕΠΑΙΔΑΜΟΡΤΟΝΑΣΠΙ
ΟΛΤΕΣΠΟΛΑΥ

Face I.

Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρό-
νειε, πανκρατὲς γάνους, βέβακες
δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς
ἐνιαυτὸν ἕρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ(ι),
5 τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαν-
τες ἅμ' αὐλοῖσιν καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν
τεὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν (ε)ὐερκῆ. Ἰώ, μέ(γ)ι-
[στε Κ]οῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε, πανκρα-
[τὲς γάνους, βέβακες δα]ιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐς ἐνι-
10 [αυτὸν ἕρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ(ι)]. Ἔνθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδα ἄμ-
[βροτον, ἀσπιδηφόροι τροφῆες] παρ' Ῥέας λαβόντε[ς πό-
δα κρούοντες ἀπέκρυψαν· Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.]

In ll. 2 and 8 the engraver cut ΠΑΤΙΚΡΑΤΕϹ and afterwards corrected the ΤΙ to Ν.

Back I.

(Spaces for 3 lines ruled but left blank.)

ἄν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι μείξαντες ἅμ' αὐλοῖσιν
5 καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν τεὸν ἀμφὶ βωμὸν (ε)ὐε(ρ)κῆ.

(Spaces for 2 lines ruled but left blank.)

[τον ἕρπ]ε (κ)α(ὶ γ)έ(γαθι μ)ολπάν.
[Ἔνθα γὰρ σ]έ, παῖδ' ἄμ(β)ρ(ο)τον, ἀσπι[δηφόροι τροφῆες
10 παρ' Ῥέας λαβ]ό(ν)τες πό(δ)α κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυψαν].

Back II.

.ΛΚΛΛΑΣΑΟΣ
ΟΝΡΙΡΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕΤΑΝ
ΛΤΩΙΡΕΝΟΣΛΙΚΤΑΝΣΙΣΡΑΙ
ΙΡΤΑΟΙΜΘΛΠΛΝ
ΡΥΟΝΚΑΤΗΤΟΣΚΑΙΒΡΟΤΟΣΔΙΚΑΚΑΤΗΧΕ
ΠΕΞΩΑΦΙΛΟΛΒΟΣΡΙΡΗΝΑ
ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΡΠΝ
ΕΙΣΕ

Face II.

ΚΡΑΤΕΣΓΑΙ.
ΜΕΝΟΣΔΙΚΤΑ.
ΓΑΘΙΜΟΛΠΑ
ΜΝΙΑΚΑΙΘΟΡΙΕΥΠΟΚΣ.
ΑΚΑΡΠΩΝΘΟΡΕΚΕΣΤΕΛΕΣ.
ΙΩΜΕΓΙΣΤΕΚΟΥΡΕΧΑΙΡΕΜΟΙΚ
ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕΣΓΑΝΟΥΣΒΕΒΑΚΕΣ
ΝΩΝΑΓΩΜΕΝΟΣΔΙΚΤΑΝΕΣ
ΕΡΠΕΚΑΙΓΕΓΑΘΙΜΟΛΠΑ
ΠΟΛΗΑΣΑΜΩΝΘΟΡΕ
ΡΟΣΝΑΑΣ ΘΟΡΕΚΕΣΝ
ΘΟΡΕΚΕΣΘΕΜΙΝΚ
ΚΟΥΡΕΧΑΙΡΕΜΟ
ΝΟΥΣΒΕΒΑ
ΔΙΚΤΑ
ΜΟΛΙ

Back II.

- τᾶ]ς καλᾶς ἀο(ῦ)ς.

Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρ[όνειε, πανκρατὲ(ς γ)άν-
ους, βέβακες δαιμόνω]ν (ἀγ)ώ(μ)ενος· (Δ)ίκταν ε(ἰ)ς (ἐν)ι-
αυτὸν ἕρπε καὶ γ(έγ)α(θ)ι μ(ο)λπ(ά)ν.

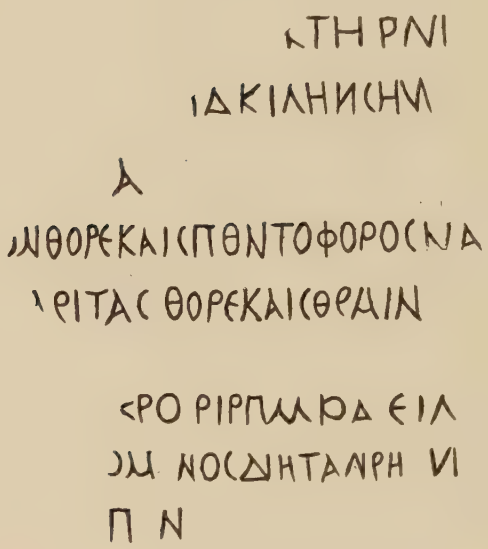
15 [Ὥραι δὲ βρ]ύον κατῆτος καὶ βροτο(ὺ)ς Δίκα κατῆχε
[πάντα τ, ἄγρι' ἄμφε]πε (ζ)ῶ(ι)' ἁ φίλολβος Εἰρήνα.

[Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε, πα]νκρ(α)τὲ(ς γά)ν-
[ους, βέβακες δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν] εἰς ἐ-
[νιαυτὸν ἕρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπάν - - - - - -]

Face II.

[Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε, παν-]
κρα[τὲ]ς γά[νους, βέβακες δαιμόνων ἀγώ-]
15 μενος· Δίκτα[ν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἕρπε καὶ γέ-
γαθι μολπᾶ(ι). Ἅμιν θόρε κὲς στα-]
μνία καὶ θόρ'<ι> εὔποκ' (ἐ)[ς ποίμνια κὲς λήϊ-]
α καρπῶν θόρε κὲς τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους].
Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κ[ρόνειε],
20 πανκρατὲς γάνους, βέβακες [δαιμό-]
νων ἀγώμενος· Δίκταν ἐ[ς ἐνιαυτὸν]
ἕρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶ(ι). [Θόρε κὲς]
πόληας ἁμῶν, <θόρε> κ[ὲς ποντοφό-]
ρο(υ)ς νᾶας, θόρε κὲς ν[έους πολείτας],
25 θόρε κὲς Θέμιν κ[αλάν. Ἰώ, μέγιστε]
Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, [Κρόνειε, πανκρατὲς γά-]
νους, βέβα[κες δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος]·
Δίκτα[ν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἕρπε καὶ γέγαθι]
μολ[πᾶι].

Back III.



The Hymn opens with an invocation, Ἰώ, *μέγιστε* Κοῦρε *κ.τ.λ.*, which recurs as a refrain after each of six succeeding stanzas. The engraver of the Back set out his copy so as to cover the whole surface, beginning a fresh line for each stanza and each repetition of the refrain; the stanza usually fills two lines and is correctly divided at the end of the second dimeter, while the refrain occupies two lines and a half. But there are two blanks at the top of the stele: why were the invocation, and the first two lines of the refrain following the first stanza, never engraved? Probably the stone-cutter was working from the bottom up, as modern stone-cutters often do: the reason being that, if they worked in what a layman considers the natural way, the hand which guides the chisel would rub out the pencilling of the lines below. In the present case no doubt the whole inscription was first drawn out on the stone, and the cutting was nearly done when some responsible person noticed that the engraver was making gibberish of the refrain. There were slips in other parts of the text, but these were negligible in comparison. Probably the person who drew out the text upon the stone had written the invocation fair and clear at the

Back III.

20 [Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε, πανκρα]τ(ὲς γά)-

[νους, βέβακες δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος]· Δ(ί)κ(τ)α(ν εἰ)ς (ἐνι)-

[αυτὸν ἕρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπ]ά(ν).

[Θόρε καῖς πόληας ἁμῶ]ν, θόρε καῖς π(ο)ντοφόρο(υ)ς νᾶ-

[ας, θόρε καῖς νέους πολ](ε)ίτας, θόρε καῖς Θέμιν

25 [καλάν].

[Ἰώ, μέγιστε Κοῦρε χαῖρέ μοι], Κρό(νε)ι(ε), π(ανκρ)α(τ)ὲ(ς γά)-

[νους, βέβακες δαιμόνων ἀγώ]μ(ε)νος· Δί(κ)ταν(εἰς ἐνι)-

[αυτὸν ἕρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολ]π(ά)ν.

Face III. is blank.

head, and had scribbled it more or less illegibly when it recurred, assuming that the workman would recognise it. But he, poor fellow, too illiterate or too hurried, began at the foot and mechanically reproduced what he saw. ΑΓΩΜΕΝΟϹ becomes ΛΤΩΙΡΕΝΟϹ, and ΚΑΙ ΓΕΓΑΘΙΜΟΛΠΑΝ becomes ΛΑΠΕΙΔΟΗΙΟΛΠΛΝ. One wonders whether he was an Eteocretan, ignorant of Greek, or a slave unable to read at all.[1]

The first attempt having been condemned, a fresh version was drawn out on the other side, which became the Face. Bold square lettering was adopted in place of the feeble script, often approaching cursive, of the Back. The first eight lines were widely spaced, with about twenty-five letters to the line. The three lines which follow are close-set and crowded, with forty or more letters in each. We cannot say how far the crowding continued. On the middle fragment an intermediate spacing and size of letter, about thirty to the line, has been adopted. The abnormal crowding

[1] It is not easy to say why the first stanza was engraved while the place for the refrain below it was left blank; possibly the stanzas were engraved first under supervision, sufficient space being left for the refrain.

of the ninth and following lines was not due to any difficulty in getting the document into the available space, for the engraver completed his task with ample space in hand. On the Face the Hymn ends at the foot of the middle fragment, and the lower fragment is blank. Probably one of the early stanzas was accidentally omitted when the text was set out, and the central part was then drawn out afresh, three stanzas being crowded into the space intended for two. The plaster reproduction (Pl. XX.) has been made on this assumption, and allows room for the six stanzas of which some trace remains on one side or other of the slab. But the irregular spacing might be explained in some other way so as to admit of a seventh stanza.

The Cult of Diktaean Zeus.

The Hymn was meant to be sung before an altar of Zeus at an annual festival held somewhere on Mount Dikte. One thinks first of the famous cave near Lyttos, the scene of the nativity-stories, which has been identified above the village of Psychro. But this, as excavation has shown, had ceased to be a centre of cult long before the date—approximately 300 B.C., according to Professor Murray (p. 365)—to which our Hymn belongs. 'With very rare and sporadic exceptions the Diktaean antiquities do not come down lower than the Geometric period, *i.e.* probably the opening of the eighth century B.C.'[1] Another possibility is that the festival was held at Lyttos, the city with which Hesiod expressly connects his story of the birth of Zeus in the Diktaean Cave. It was built on an outlying north-western spur of Mount Dikte and the greater part of the mountain-mass must have lain within its territory, extending as it did, at any rate in the fourth century, from sea to sea (Skylax, 48, *διήκει ἀμφοτέρωθεν*). In this case a different difficulty has to be faced. The Hymn lays stress on a local legend of the birth on Dikte and the hiding of the babe by the Kouretes, making it the motive of the festival—*ἔνθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ' ἄμβροτον κ.τ.λ.* But such evidence as we have goes to show that Lyttos worshipped Zeus of Ida rather than Zeus of Dikte. Our best sources of informatian about the local cults of Cretan cities are the oath-formulae contained in their treaties. These petty states, which were constantly making treaties and as constantly breaking them, used to bind

[1] Hogarth, *B.S.A.* vi. 115.

one another by a form of oath which exposed the transgressor to the wrath of the chief gods of both lands. In a treaty between Lyttos and Hierapytna Zeus is mentioned twice, with the cultus-titles Ὀράτριος and Μοννίτιος.[1] Zeus Ὀράτριος reappears in two other documents to which Hierapytna is a party [2] and must therefore have been worshipped in that state, while Z. Μοννίτιος is known also at Malla, the neighbour of Lyttos on the south.[3] In a treaty between Lyttos and Olous the oath is incomplete, but it includes the name of Zeus Βιδάτας, that is Zeus of Ida,[4] and he must almost certainly be regarded as the representative of Lyttos, for Olous had its own cult, that of Zeus Ταλλαῖος.[5] In the same way the mention of Z. Κρηταγενής and Z. Ταλλαῖος in a treaty between Lato and Olous enables us to assign the cultus-title Κρηταγενής to Lato.[6] At Dreros, a little state wedged in between Lato, Olous, and Lyttos, Z. Ταλλαῖος reappears.[7] In none of these public documents has the name of Zeus Δικταῖος been preserved, although the states in question are those which lie closest to the mountain-group of Dikte. Taken in conjunction with the cessation of offerings at the cave, this must mean that the mountain and its legend counted for little in local worship. Further, mention of Zeus Βιδάτας in a Lyttian document implies recognition of the superior claims of Mount Ida.

There is reason, it is true, to think that the young Zeus was worshipped at Lyttos, for an inscription of Roman date mentions a festival called the Βελχανία which was celebrated there, apparently on the Kalends of May [8]; but this name too has associations with Ida. The temple which stood in classical days near Phaistos on the site of a Minoan palace, on the hill now called Ἁγία Τριάδα, was dedicated to Zeus

[1] Le Bas, *Rev. de Phil.* i. 264 ff.; Blass, *Die Kretischen Inschriften* (in Collitz-Bechtel's *Sammlung der Dielekt-Inschr.*) 5041.

[2] Treaty made by Gortys and Hierapytna with Priansos, Blass, 5024; treaty between Hierapytna and a colony, discussed below, Blass, 5039.

[3] Temple of Z. Monnitios at Malla, Blass, 5184. 15; cf. 5100. 19,

[4] *C.I.A.* ii. 549; Blass, 5147, side *b* line 5, Τῆνα Βιδάταν καὶ Τῆνα . . . A temple of Z. Βιδάτας seems to be mentioned in *ibid.* 5024, in the description of the frontier of Priansos; it may have lain in the region where Priansos marched with Lyttos. For Ϝίδα = Ἴδη see Xanthoudides' remarks in Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908, p. 236.

[5] The temple of Z. Ταλλαῖος at Olous is mentioned in the inscription *B.C.H.* iii. 293 = Blass, 5149. 14.

[6] *Ibid.* 5075. 73, Ζῆνα τὸν Κρηταγενέα. We have the same title in the fragmentary oath of a treaty between Gortys and Sybrita, *ibid.* 5021. 19.

[7] *Ibid.* 4952. 19.

[8] *B.C.H.* xiii. (1889), 61.

Ϝέλχανος. He is figured on the coins of Phaistos as a comely youth,[1] a *Κοῦρος* like the god worshipped on another Minoan site at Palaikastro. Nor is it surprising that the people of Lyttos, colonists from Sparta, should have turned their eyes to Ida and the west rather than to Dikte and the east. Their neighbours on the west, the masters of Ida, were Dorians like themselves; but Dikte, as we shall see, was the sacred mountain of the old inhabitants.

Thus the cities of central Crete made little or no use of the cultus-title *Δικταῖος*. Its vogue seems to have been limited to the region beyond the isthmus of Hierapytna and to the three states which at one time or other claimed control of the temple at Palaikastro. The public documents in which it occurs relate to internal affairs respectively of Itanos and Hierapytna:—

(1) The citizens of Itanos swear allegiance to the state 'by Zeus Diktaios and Hera and the gods in Dikte and Athena Polias and all the gods to whom sacrifice is made in the temple of Athena and Zeus Agoraios and Apollo Pythios.'[2]

(2) Settlers from Hierapytna, sent probably to occupy conquered territory (that of Praisos?), swear allegiance 'by Hestia and Zeus Oratrios and Zeus Diktaios and Hera and Athena of Oleros and Athena Polias and Athena of Cape Salmonion and Apollo Pythios and Lato and Artemis and Ares and Aphrodite and Kouretes and Nymphs and Korybantes and all gods and goddesses.'[3]

To these we must add another in which the title may be restored with confidence.

(3) The people of Praisos grant certain territory and dues to the people of Stalai, and their chief magistrate takes oath by 'Zeus [Diktaios restored, filling the space exactly], Poseidon, Athena, Apollo Pythios, all gods and goddesses.' Strabo's statement that there was a temple of Diktaean Zeus at or near Praisos goes far to justify the restoration.[4]

[1] *Brit. Mus. Catalogue, Crete*, xv. 10 and 12. The coins show him seated among branches. In one version of his perilous infancy Amalthea hides his cradle in a tree and the Kouretes dance about it (Hyginus, 139).

[2] Halbherr, *Mus. Ital.* iii. 563; Dittenberger, ii. No. 462; Blass, 5058. Dittenberger is wrong in saying that it was found at Palaikastro; it was found at Itanos (Eremopoli).

[3] *C.I.G.* 2555; Blass, 5039. The newcomers in this list are Z. Diktaios and Athena Salmonia, both worshipped in the north-eastern corner of Crete: it is plain that the colony lay in that direction.

[4] Mariani, *Mon. Ant.* vi. 299; Dittenberger, ii. No. 427; Blass, 5120; Strabo, 475 and 478.

An excavation at Lyttos, much to be desired on many grounds, may furnish further evidence of a local cult. In the meantime we must regard the temple at Palaikastro as the chief seat in eastern Crete of the worship of the god to whom honours had been paid in the grotto on Dikte during the Bronze Age and early Iron Age. The cult at Palaikastro seems to have had a continuous existence. In the Third Late Minoan period, after the destruction of the palaces at Knossos, Phaistos, and Gournia, the town at Palaikastro became what it had not been before, the seat of a ruling prince. Here and nowhere else in Crete, so far as we know at present, a palace of the Cretan type was built anew after the general disaster. When growing insecurity drove the Eteocretan population inland, Praisos took the place of Palaikastro (Heleia) as the capital. But the cult clung to the deserted town-site, and again and again in defiance of boundaries and treaties the people of Praisos laid claim to the holy place of their forefathers.

One is tempted to conjecture that the very name Dikte had been transferred to one of the heights, possibly the cone of Modhi, near Praisos and Palaikastro. The existence of a second Dikte in this neighbourhood would go far to explain the statement of Strabo (478, cf. 475) that Dikte lay 1000 stades to the east of Ida and only 100 stades from Cape Salmonion, the north-eastern promontory of Crete, near to Praisos and the temple of Diktaean Zeus. It would also explain the emphatic mention of the Praisian tradition regarding the birth of Zeus on Dikte and the part played by the sow, in Athenaeus ix. 376 A, and enable us to claim the *ἀπόρρητος θυσία* as possibly a feature of the festival for which our Hymn was written. We might even see in the walls of Palaikastro, conspicuous to-day and certainly more so in antiquity, those of the city mentioned by Diodorus (v. 70) as having been founded by Zeus in the neighbourhood of his birthplace so soon as he came to manhood: 'in later times it fell into decay, but its ruins still remain.'

The Cult of the Kouretes.

In the invocation with which the Hymn opens Zeus is said to have come *δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος*. These divine attendants are doubtless the Kouretes and Nymphs, who are named after the Olympian gods in the

oath-formulae of treaties between Hierapytna and Lyttos,[1] and between Lato and Olous,[2] four states whose territory lay round about the mountain-mass of Dikte. Alike from Lyttos, from Lato (Goulas) and its port Lato Proskamara (H. Nikolaos), and from Hierapytna, the snowy ridges of Dikte are the most conspicuous feature of the landscape. It was a Cretan belief, according to Diodorus (v. 65), that the Kouretes 'used to dwell upon the mountains, in wooded places and glens and in general where there was natural covering and shelter, because the art of building houses had not yet been discovered.'[3] The treaty between Lato and Olous, referred to above, mentions a sanctuary of the Kouretes which must have lain in just such a region on the north-east flank of Dikte. This inscription traces the frontier of Lato in great detail, starting from the sea on the east and working round by south and west until it meets the frontier of Olous on the north. Now the neighbour of Lato on the south was Hierapytna, on the north Lyttos. Approximately midway in the delimitation, perhaps not far from the point where the territory of these three states met, we have the phrase (line 60) ἐπὶ τ[ὸς] Κώρηταα[ς, which must mean 'to the sanctuary of the Kouretes.' This ellipse occurs in other Cretan inscriptions. There is an exact parallel, ἐπὶ [τὸν] Ἀσκλαπιόν in a description of the frontier-line between Gortys and Knossos.[4] The Lato-Olous inscription continues after an interval 'and to the Deer's Pool and to the Ridge and to the Wild-pear Wood and to the Peak of Zeus,' this last a name which carries us into the heart of Dikte. The inscription probably belongs to the early part of the first century before Christ. Thus the cult of the Kouretes still held its own, even on the eve of the Roman conquest, in the region around Dikte where we have failed to find evidence of the cult of Diktaean Zeus.

The evidence for the worship of the Kouretes in the Eteocretan country is less clear. In the oath of the Hierapytnian colonists, quoted above (p. 350) the Kouretes, Nymphs, and Korybantes are named; but it is

[1] Blass, 5041. 14. The oath ends καὶ Κώρηταs καὶ Νύμφαs καὶ θεὸs πάνταs καὶ πάσαs.

[2] *Ibid.* 5075. 76.

[3] The Cretan mythologist, whom Diodoros paraphrases, follows the view (cf. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 120) that these δαίμονες were the first inhabitants, the men of the golden age. So Strabo, x. 473, 'Some say that the name Idaean Daktyls was given to the first inhabitants of the lower slopes of Ida.' Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, ii. 217, 232 quotes a modern story of male and female spirits seen by hunters on the mountains of Sphakia.

[4] *Ibid.* 5016. 6.

probable that all three were worshipped at the mother-city.[1] However, the Itanian oath has a striking phrase, 'the gods in Dikte,' which almost certainly refers to these mountain spirits. The Praisian oath is short and businesslike, ending with 'all gods and goddesses,' a phrase common to most of the oath-formulae.

The Palaikastro copy of the Hymn of the Kouretes was probably engraved in the second or third century after Christ. What was the motive for the resuscitation of a poem already some 500 years old, the diction of which was so unfamiliar that the engraving of it in that late age was a matter of real difficulty? Two inscriptions have recently come to light at the foot of Mount Ida which show that the worship of the Kouretes was still a reality among Cretan country-folk under the Roman Empire. One of them, published by Prof. de Sanctis in *Mon. dei Lincei*, xviii. (1908), p. 178, comes from Hagia Barbara, a mountain village situated 1800 feet above the sea on the pass through which the road to Gortys descends into the Messara plain.

'Ε]ρταῖος 'Αμνάτου Κώρησι τοῖς πρὸ καρταιπόδων (ἀ)ρὰν καὶ (χα)ρι(σ)τήιον.

'Ertaios, son of Amnatos, to the Kouretes the guardians of kine, fulfils his vow and makes a thank-offering.'

De Sanctis compares *καρταῖπος* = *βοῦς* in the Gortys inscription (iv. 36 and north wall i. 13), and *κραταίπους* in Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 81. The lettering is late with the same ϹΩ as in the Palaikastro hymn. Since publishing it the same scholar has discovered a second dedication to the Kouretes in the village of Pluti, which lies on a foot-hill of Ida, 2½ miles north-west of Gortys. I am indebted to his kindness for a copy of it. The formula is almost the same, the lettering earlier in character, perhaps of the second century A.D.

[1] For this exceptional inclusion of the *Κύρβαντες* (=Korybantes) see also the treaty between Priansos, Gortyna, and Hierapytna (Blass, 5024), where the formula is much mutilated, but the restoration of *Κύ(ρβαντας)* in l. 63 is highly probable. There was a reason in local legend, which said that the city was originally called *Κύρβα* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἱεράπυτνα*) and was founded by a *Κύρβας* who had come with the *Κούρητες* from Rhodes (Strabo, 472); *Κύρβη* appears as a Rhodian place-name in Diod. Sic. v. 57. The inscription recently found at Palaikastro (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1908, 199) mentions a tribe *Καμιρίς*, clearly belonging to Hierapytna and illustrating another of its alleged earlier names, *Κάμιρος* (Steph. Byz. *l.c.*). This traditional kinship no doubt facilitated the alliance between Rhodes and Hierapytna of which we have epigraphic record (Collitz-Bechtel, 3749; cf. Strabo, *l.c.*).

The Kouretes then were regarded in the neighbourhood of Gortys as the special protectors of cattle. The word *καρταίποδα* may, as De Sanctis observes, be a genuine survival from archaic times ; but it is perhaps more probable that the formula was supplied from some learned source and that exceptional recourse to the mountain deities was made on the occasion of some plague. A similar emergency among the sheep-farmers of the east coast may have prompted the revival of obsolescent rites at the Temple of Diktaean Zeus. The age of Severus and his successors, to which we have seen reason to refer the Palaikastro copy of the Hymn, was one in which mysteries and religious associations flourished, and probably witnessed many such revivals.

Note on Lines 20–26.

The Horai and the Age of Innocence.

For these two strophai we have only the evidence of the Back, always insecure and here incomplete. They describe the blessings which flowed from the rule of Zeus,—order in the universe, the regular succession of the seasons, the beginnings of justice and peace on earth. We may perhaps recover the thought of the mutilated stanza ending *τᾶς καλᾶς ἀοῦς* by comparing it with a passage which Plutarch, *De esu carnium*, I. 2, p. 993 E quotes from an unnamed poet. He describes the difficulties which beset primitive man and drove him to the eating of flesh. *οὔπω δ' ἥλιος ἵδρυτο ἀπλανῆ καὶ βέβαιον*

ἔχων δρόμον ἠῶ
καὶ δύσιν ἔκρινεν, πέρι δ' ἤγαγεν αὖθις ὀπίσσω
καρποφόροισιν ἐπιστέψας καλυκοστεφάνοισιν
Ὥραις, γῆ δ' ὕβριστο

ποταμῶν ἐκβολαῖς ἀτάκτοις, καὶ πολλὰ λίμναισιν ἄμορφα καὶ πηλοῖς βαθέσι καὶ λόχμαις ἀφόροις καὶ ὕλαις ἐξηγρίωτο· φορᾶς δὲ ἡμέρων καρπῶν καὶ τέχνης ὄργανον οὐδὲν <ἦν> οὐδὲ μηχανὴ σοφίας· ὁ δὲ λιμὸς οὐκ ἐδίδου χρόνον οὐδὲ ὥρας ἐτησίους σπόρος <πυρ>ῶν τότ' ἀνέμενε.[1] Empedocles, if the lines be his, believed that the sun's movements had for a while been irregular; our Hymn probably gave Zeus the credit for fixing them and bringing about the revolution of the seasons.

[1] I follow the emended text of Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, i. 216. He ascribes the lines doubtfully to Empedocles, as Wyttenbach did before him.

The idea that there was a time when the regular cycle of the seasons had not been established appears to be an old one. Aeschylus (*Prom.* 454) rationalises it into a period when men did not yet know the signs of the seasons: it was Prometheus who taught them to read the stars. In one of the mythological hand-books of which abstracts have been preserved by Diodorus, Ouranos is said to have performed this service for humanity (iii. 56, *εἰσηγήσασθαι δὲ τοῖς ὄχλοις τὸν μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου κινήσεως, τοὺς δὲ μῆνας ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ τὰς κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον ὥρας διδάξαι*): according to another (v. 67), it was Hyperion who first studied and made known the movements of sun, moon, and stars, and the seasons which they bring about.[1] Ovid, adopting the Hesiodic cosmosgony with its idea of a happier Golden Age, makes the introduction of regular seasons a change for the worse:

> Jupiter antiqui contraxit tempora veris
> perque hiemes aestusque et inaequales autumnos
> et breve ver spatiis exegit quatuor annum.

The following stanza, so happily restored by Professor Murray, tells how the Seasons, and in particular two of them, Justice and Peace, established the reign of law upon earth.[2] Zeus is their father, Themis their mother (Hesiod, *Theog.* 901):

> *δεύτερον ἠγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὥρας,*
> *Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν.*

Pindar makes them responsible for the prosperity of 'wealthy Corinth' (*Ol.* xiii. 6 ff.):

> *ἐν τᾷ γὰρ Εὐνομία ναίει, κασιγνήτα τε, βάθρον πολίων ἀσφαλές,*
> *Δίκα καὶ ὁμότροφος Εἰρήνα, ταμίαι ἀνδράσι πλούτου,*
> *χρύσεαι παῖδες εὐβούλου Θέμιτος.*

Their rule extends over the whole animal world.[3] Man, as Plato

[1] Prof. Murray calls my attention to the chorus in Eurip. *Electra*, 726 ff., describing how Zeus changed the movements of sun and stars as a testimony against Thyestes. In some accounts this is a temporary portent, but here and in Plato, *Politicus*, 269, it is regarded as a permanent reversal; till then the sun had risen in the west and set in the east.

[2] The name of **Εὐνομία**, not mentioned in the Hymn, was adopted in several Cretan cities as a collective title for the college of magistrates (Xanthoudides, **Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.** 1908. 208).

[3] The mention of peace in the animal world might possibly refer to the proverbial freedom of Crete from all noxious creatures—an immunity which resulted, according to one account, from the birth of Zeus in the island; others give the credit to Herakles or even to St. Paul. The passages are collected by Pashley, *Travels in Crete*, ii. 261.

makes Protagoras say, is the only one of the animals who has any gods; yet the gods care for all. Witness Archilochus (*fr.* 79):

> Ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος,
> σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷς
> λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων
> ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει,

and the beautiful prayer to Justice (Δικαιοσύνη) in the Orphic Hymn-book, which pleads for the welfare of all living things (*Orphica*, lxiii. 12–16),

> κλῦθι, θεά, κακίαν θνητῶν θραύουσα δικαίως,
> ὡς ἂν ἰσορροπίῃσιν ἀεὶ βίος ἐσθλὸς ὁδεύοι
> θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν,
> καὶ ζῴων πάντων, ὁπόσ' ἐν κόλποισι τιθηνεῖ
> γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ καὶ πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεύς.

Here, as in the passage of Plutarch from which we set out, the underlying idea is the brotherhood of all living things and the sinfulness of killing animals for food. The belief that primitive men—and beasts, too—had led 'Orphic lives' was familiar to Plato (*Laws*, 782 C); in the days of Kronos 'there was no savage beast, no eating of one another, no war, no strife' (*Politicus*, 271 E). But we owe the fullest statement of this Empedoclean view of our early history to Dicaearchus (*ap.* Porph. *de Abst.* iv. 2). Tired of acorns and the other fruits which earth in the Golden Age yielded unasked, men took to the pastoral life and began to eat meat; *συνεισῆλθεν δὲ ὕστερον καὶ πόλεμος καὶ εἰς ἀλλήλους πλεονεξία ἅμα τῇ τῶν ζῴων ἀδικίᾳ.* The Hymn of the Kouretes naturally transfers the period of innocence when Peace and Justice prevailed from the reign of Kronos to that of Zeus. The profession of the chorus in Euripides' *Cretans*, *τήν τ' ἐμψύχων βρῶσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμαι*, shows that the priests of Idaean Zeus maintained the primitive custom, and it may well be that the doctrine of abstinence was taught also in the Diktaean cult.

R. C. BOSANQUET.

THE HYMN OF THE KOURETES.

Restored Text.

Ἰώ,
Μέγιστε Κοῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι,
Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνους,
βέβακες
5 δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος·
Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ-
πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾷ,

Τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑
μείξαντες ἅμ' αὐλοῖσιν, ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ — — ⏓
10 καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν τεὸν ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑⏑
ἀμφὶ βωμὸν εὐερκῆ. ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ — —

Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.
Ἔνθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ' ἄμβροτον, ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑
ἀσπιδ[ηφόροι τροφῆες] ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏓
15 παρ' Ῥέας λαβόντες πόδα' ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑
κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυψαν]. ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ — —

Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.
. . . . .
. . . . .
20 . . . . .
. . . τᾶ]ς καλᾶς Ἀο(ῦ)ς ⏑ ⏑́ — —

Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.

[Ὧραι δὲ βρ]ύον κατῆτος — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏓
καὶ βροτο(ὺ)ς Δίκα κατῆχε ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏓
[πάντα τ' ἄγρι' ἄμφεπ]ε ζῷ' ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏓
ἁ φίλολβος Εἰρήνα. ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ — —

Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.

Ἅ[μιν θόρε, κὲς στα]μνία, ⏑́ ⏑ — — ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑
καὶ θόρ' εὔποκ' ἐ[ς ποίμνια, ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑
κὲς λήϊ]α καρπῶν θόρε, ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑
κὲς τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους]. ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ — —

Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.

[Θόρε κὲς] πόληας ἁμῶν, ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓
κὲς ποντοφόρο(υ)ς νᾶας, ⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ — — ⏓
θόρε κὲς ν[έους πολ]είτας, ⏑́ ⏑ — — ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏓
θόρε κὲς Θέμιν κ[αλάν]. ⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑́ — —

Square brackets denote conjectural restorations. S denotes the stone; B Professor Bosanquet, to whose copies and photographs of the inscription I owe all my knowledge of it.

TRANSLATION.

'Io, Kouros most Great, I give thee hail, Kronian, Lord of all that is wet and gleaming, thou art come at the head of thy Daimones. To Dikte for the year, Oh, march, and rejoice in the dance and song,

That we make to thee with harps and pipes mingled together, and sing as we come to a stand at thy well-fenced altar.

Io, etc.

For here the shielded Nurturers took thee, a babe immortal, from Rhea, and with noise of beating feet hid thee away.

Io, etc.

. . . . . .

. . . . . of fair dawn (?)

Io, etc.

And the Seasons began to be fruitful year by year (?) and Justice to possess mankind, and all wild living things were held about by wealth-loving Peace.

Io, etc.

To us also leap for full jars, and leap for fleecy flocks, and leap for fields of fruit, and for hives to bring increase.

Io, etc.

Leap for our Cities, and leap for our sea-borne ships, and leap for young citizens and for goodly Law.'

L. 2. No single Μέγιστος Κοῦρος is known to us elsewhere, but cf. the title Νέος Κούρης given to Epimenides (Plut. *V. Sol.* 12 ; cf. Diog. La. i. 115): also the herdsman Κορήτας, who first discovered the prophetic vapours of Delphi (Plut. *Defect. Or.* 42 and 46), and the Πρωτοκούρης at Ephesus. Dittenberger, *Syll.* I.[2] 186, 1, who cites Wood, *Ephesus*, app. 2, p. 28. Cf. Hicks, *Gk. Inscr. in Brit. Mus.* 3, 2 p. 219. The Κοῦρος is no doubt a god generated from the Κούρητες, like Σάτυρος, Σιληνός, Πάν, Salius, and perhaps even Ἀμφικτύων (from the Σάτυροι, etc.). Then he is identified with the young Zeus. The well-known Ϙούρης inscriptions on the rocks of Thera (*I.G.I.M.A.* iii. 354 &c.) also receive much light from this hymn.

L. 3. ΚΡΟΝΕΙΕ, S.

L. 5. δαιμόνων, sc. the other Κούρητες ; see Miss Harrison's article (p. 310).

L. 10. στάντες. They marched along like the Salii and then stopped and sang the hymn at the Altar. Cf. Strabo, p. 640 init. ὅρος, ὅπου στάντας φασὶ τοὺς Κούρητας κ.τ.λ. (at Ephesus).

τεόν seems to be treated as a monosyllable ; but see below on the metre.

L. 14. ἀσπιδ[ηφόροι Κούρητες] B. The sense seems certain, but the metrical license — — — — for — ⏑ — ⏓ is doubtful and does not occur elsewhere in the hymn. Hence I prefer τροφῆες : ἀσπίδ[εσσι | Κού-˘-ρητες] would correspond neatly with μείξαντες ἅμ' | αὐ-˘-λοῖσιν.

L. 16. I prefer ἀπέκρυψαν to κατέκρυψαν (B) both metrically and because it is the word used in similar ritual contexts by Hes. *Theog.* 157 of the 'hidden' children of Kronos, πάντας ἀποκρύπτασκε, and Strabo, p. 483 of the Cretan youths (= Kouretes in another aspect), ἀποκρύπτειν μὲν τὸν παῖδα.

L. 21. So B. The reading seems pretty clear.

For the reading of this and the next stanzas I am guided partly by Diodorus v. 65, on the Kouretes :—

διενεγκόντας δ' αὐτοὺς συνέσει πολλὰ τῶν κοινῇ χρησίμων καταδεῖξαι· τάς τε γὰρ ποίμνας τῶν προβάτων τούτους ἀθροῖσαι πρώτους καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων ἐξημερῶσαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς μελιττουργίας καταδεῖξαι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν τοξικὴν καὶ τὰς κυνηγίας εἰσηγήσασθαι, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους κοινῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ συμβιώσεως, ἔτι δ' ὁμονοίας καί τινος εὐταξίας ἀρχηγοὺς γενέσθαι.

This gives the flocks of sheep, the taming of other animals, the bees (cf. Call. *H. Jov.* 50 ff. and Verg. *Georg.* iv. 151) and the arts of civilization and ordered life. As for *Θέμιν*, Prof. Bosanquet points out that the official name for the Cretan college of magistrates was *Εὐνομία* (Xanthoudides in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1908). Perhaps *Θέμις* is a poetical equivalent for this. It is curious that the most usual names for the three Horai, from Hes. *Theog.* 902, onward, are *Δίκη*, *Εἰρήνη* and *Εὐνομία*.

There is also the analogy of the Salii, whom Denys of Halicarnassus *Antiq. Rom.* ii. lxx, identifies with the Kouretes, and who were certainly connected with spring and fertility. The same connexion is shown in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* iii. 11. p. 114 *τῶν δὲ καιρῶν σύμβολα οἱ Κούρητες, τὸν χρόνον βουκολοῦντες . . . τῶν δὲ Ὡρῶν αἱ μὲν κ.τ.λ.*

In spite of their *ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις* the Kouretes do not seem to have been military.

23. This stanza is on the reverse only. YONKATHTOC is puzzling. Before the Y are remains of P, not Φ. Space for about eight letters. If we can suppose that *καταϝέτος*, 'year by year,' was treated as one word, and that when the *ϝ* dropped out a form *κατάετος* was left, it would normally in Doric become *κατήτος* or *κατῆτος*. If so, the above restoration will suit, but I can find no evidence. The forms *ἐπηετανός*, *ἐπητανός* are of different origin.—The hero *Κάθητος*, who married Salia and was father of Salius and Latinus does not fit in well (Ps. Plut. *Parall.* 40 = *F.H.G.* iii. p. 230), nor does *τῆτος* 'dearth.'

L. 24. BPOTOC S (reverse): corr. B.

L. 25. Before the *ε* are remains of (probably) *π*. Before that, space for about thirteen letters. My restoration is merely *exempli gratia*.

L. 29. ΘΟΡΙ S: *θόρ'* B. The command 'Leap' is addressed to the God, Kouros, but is acted on by the singers themselves, the Kouretes, as his representatives. Cf. *limen sali; sta; berber* and *triumpe triumpe triumpe* in the song of the Fratres Arvales. The songs of the Salii are too imperfectly preserved to be of use to us. They were *vix sacerdotibus suis satis intellecta* (Quint. i. 6. 40).

About seventeen letters missing before ΜΝΙΑ and ten to fourteen after ΕΥΠΟΚΕ. Cretan *σταμνία* were famous. The word before *καρπῶν* ended in *α* and probably had a vowel before the *α*, since the engraver when he divides a word divides after a vowel (with the usual exceptions, like *μείξαν- τες*) *-λήϊα*. B.

L. 31. *τελεσ[φόρους ἀγρούς]* B; *ὥρας* also would do. My restoration, though doubtless it would be engraved *τελεσφόρος σίμβλος*, is rather large for the space.

L. 31. The space on the stone would be satisfied by *θόρε κὲς* and this seems probable, But in that case we must suppose a line *θόρε κὲς πόληας ἁμῶν θόρε*, in which *θόρε* is by mistake written twice. Which shall we delete? On the whole the second, because (1) *θόρε* seems regularly to occur at the beginning of the line; (2) it is easier to understand its being inserted in the second place, so as to put a *θόρε* before every object mentioned.

L. 35. *ν[έους πολ]είτας*, a pretty certain restoration of B.

L. 36. Perhaps *κ[λειτ]ήν*. B.

METRE.

On the stone the poem is written continuously with no divisions except between stanzas. The metre, however, seems to me quite certain.

The refrain, *Μέγιστε Κοῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι, κ.τ.λ.*, need scarcely detain us. It is the ordinary di-iambic, perhaps the commonest of lyrical metres. The base is ⏑ – ⏑ – and the variants – ⏑ – and ⏑ — – and once – – ⏑ ⏑ are admitted.

We may note that *Ἰώ* is found alone, not *Ἰὼ ἰώ*, which some metrists insist on restoring in similar places in tragedy so as to get an equivalent to ⏑ – ⏑ –. This *ἰώ* may be an iambic or spondee *extra metrum*, or — —

may be equivalent to ⏑ – ⏑ –. Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 278 ἐ ἔ *extra metrum* in the same metre, but ἰὼ ἰώ *Suppl.* 1127, 1134. In *Tro.* 168, 173 et antistr. we get this single spondee even in lyrical anapaests; cf. ἰώ *Hec.* 177; in regular anapaests it seems safer to double the spondee ἰὼ <ἰώ> so as to get the regular metron of two feet. *Suppl.* 1113.

But the body of the poem is of exceptional interest. It is the most complete specimen extant of recurrent strophes in a metre which may be called either Ionic *a majore* or di-trochaic, – – ⏑ ⏑ or – ⏑ – ⏑. (The transition from the preceding iambics is obtained in the ordinary way, by the use of – ⏑ – and ⏑ – – –.)

Each stanza consists of three dimeters followed by a dimeter catalectic.

The base is ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑, or ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑̄.

(1) The variations admitted are ⏑ – ⏑̄, as ᾱῠλῡισῐ̄ν, -ῡῠς νᾱᾰς. The first syllable counts as two and is in each case a diphthong. This is common. Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 174 with my note.

(2) Also ⏑̄ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑̄ (vv. 33, 34, 35), but here the first short syllable belongs to a specially emphatic word (θόρε) and naturally tends to bear a stress. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 525–542, where the emphatic word Ἔρως four times corresponds to a spondee.

(3) Also, once, in v. 10 we seem to get ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ for ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑̄. There are parallels to this in Isyllus (D. 3, 6) and in Aristophanes (*Nub.* 805 ὡς ἕτοιμος ὅδ'). But in this very regular poem I suspect that τεόν was pronounced as one syllable. (εο = ευ, as in Ionic inscriptions.)

To understand the metre, let us take first a very simple form of it, where the ditrochaei are continuous, with no admixture of Ionici: the well known poem, Anacreon, 75 (79):—

Πῶλε Θρηκίη, τί δή με
λοξὸν ὄμμασιν βλέπουσα
νηλεῶς φεύγεις, δοκεῖς δέ μ'
οὐδὲν εἰδέναι σοφόν;

ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι
τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
ἡνίας δ' ἔχων στρέφοιμί σ'
ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου.

This is the same as

'Ah, distinctly I remember,
It was in the bleak December,
And each several dying ember
Cast its ghost upon the floor.'

The chief difference from our hymn is that the Anacreon and the Poe admit no variants from their ditrochaei, though Poe runs a little in the direction of ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑.

Next let us take a stanza in which Ionic *a majore* and ditrochaeus are both used. The stanza is the same as that of the hymn, except that it is one syllable shorter at the end. Say λίσσου-μοι, and it is the same.

Eurip. *Medea*, 151 :—

τίς σοί ποτε | τᾶς ἀπλάτου
κοίτας ἔρος, | ὦ ματαία ;
σπεύσει θανά|του τελευτά·
μηδὲν τόδε | λίσσου.

Cf. also Soph. *O.T.* 1186 :—

Ἰώ, γενεαὶ βροτῶν, ὡς	⏑́ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑̆
ὑμᾶς ἴσα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν	⏑́ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ – –
ζώσας ἐναριθμῶ.	⏑́ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ –

But the rest of this song needs special comment, which would be out of place here.

Observe that if ⏑́ – ⏑ ⏑ = ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑ it follows that we should stress strongly the first syllable of each line, thus generating a faint secondary stress on the third, although it is short. We go wrong if we stress the second syllable, as we usually do.

To stress the first syllable and so keep up the trochaic rhythm is the way to catch the metre of many fragments of Simonides, Sappho, and Anacreon, as well as some tragic choruses.

For instance : Simonides, 53 (25) :—

– ⏑ – ὃς δουρὶ πάντας	⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑̆ ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑̆
νίκασε νέους ὑπὲρ δι-	⏑́ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑̆
νάεντα βαλὼν Ἄναυρον,	⏑́ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑̆
πουλυβότρυος ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ·	⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑̆
οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἠδὲ	⏑́ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑̆
Στασίχορος ἄειδε λαοῖς.	⏑́ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑́ ⏑ – ⏑̆

ὑπέρ follows Ἄναυρον in the MSS; corr. Dobree and Wilamowitz. πολυβότρυος, MSS., which can also be justified.

32 (46):—

Ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν μήποτε	⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑	⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑	
φάσῃς ὅτι γίνεται.	⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑	⏑́ ⏑ —	
μηδ' ἄνδρα ϝιδὼν ὄλβιον	⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑	⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑	
ὅσσον χρόνον ἔσσεται.	⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑	⏑́ ⏑ —	
ὠκεῖα γάρ—οὐ τανυπτερύγοιο μυίας	⏑́ — ⏑ ⏑	⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑	⏑́ ⏑ — ⏓
οὕτως—ἁ μετάστασις.	⏑́ — — ⏑	⏑́ ⏑ —	

In the last two lines the reading is doubtful and the metre not quite clear. Οὐδὲ τανυπτερύγου MSS. We seem to have two variations,

⏑́ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ (see above) and ⏑́ — — ⏑ for — ⏑ — ⏓, cf. Eur. *El.* 432 κλειναὶ ναῆες. (Cf. Wilamowitz, *Isyllos v. Epidauros*, pp. 143 ff.)

We should observe also that the paean of Isyllus of Epidaurus, written about 300 B.C., is written in Ionic *a minore* mixed with ditrochaeus. Isyllus writes rudely and admits many more irregularities than our Kouretes do, but curiously enough an Ionic *a majore* is not one of them. See Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* p. 13, and especially the metrical discussion, pp. 125–157.

A typical pair of lines will show the metre of Isyllus.

ἐκ δὲ Φλεγύα | γένετ' Αἴγλα δ' | ὀνομάσθη |
τόδ ἐπώνυμον· τὸ κάλλος || δὲ Κορωνὶς ἐπεκλήθη. ||

Variants of this Ionic metre became common for popular love-songs in late Hellenistic times: cf. Athen. xv. 697 B, and the tomb-inscription of Marisa (κατακεῖμαι μεθ' ἑτέρου σὲ μέγα φιλοῦσα κ.τ.λ.) and the serenade in the Tebtunis papyri, p. 124. See Cronert and Wünsch, *Rh. Mus.* lxiv. pp. 433–448.

DATE.

The inscription has, palaeographically, a very cursive character: note especially the forms of Ε (confused with Ρ) Μ Θ Ω Β. Mr. M. N. Tod would place it in the second or third century A.D. and Prof. Bosanquet independently puts it 'probably not before 200 A.D.' But the song itself is no doubt much older, as is indicated by the fact that it was first copied very faultily, and then copied again more correctly, on the other side of the stone. The errors (Ρ for Ε, Π and ΙΡ for Μ, etc.) seem

to indicate that it was copied from a MS. rather than from another inscription; but of course that MS., in its turn, may well have been copied from a stone.

The metre, as shown above, would suit any date between the sixth and fourth centuries B.C.

The dialect is a cultured poetical Koine with a few Dorisms (*ἀγώμενος*, long *α* in many words, *βέβακες*), much more polished than the language of Isyllus (ca. 300 B.C.), and certainly not earlier than 400. It is far removed from anything archaic.

The substance is characteristic. The Kouretes are conceived as founders of the arts of civilization and of ordered progress, as in Diodorus. This point of view hardly appears before Dicaearchus's *Bios Hellados* and the early Stoics. The poem is therefore probably of about the same date as the paean of Isyllus, not far from the year 300 B C.

If a historian can find us evidence of some restoration of the college of Kouretes in Crete, possibly in some connexion with Themis, about 300 B.C., we shall have the occasion for which the song was written, or perhaps re-written from some old and unintelligible form.

GILBERT MURRAY.

ANNUAL MEETING OF SUBSCRIBERS.

THE Annual Meeting of subscribers to the School was held in the rooms of the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, on Tuesday, October 19th, 1909, Professor GILBERT MURRAY presiding.

The Secretary of the School (Mr. J. ff. BAKER-PENOYRE) submitted the following report on behalf of the Managing Committee.

In presenting their Annual Report the Managing Committee have first to congratulate the Director and the staff of the School on having brought to a successful conclusion the work on which they have been engaged for the past four sessions, the excavation of the shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. They wish once more to emphasise the debt the School owes to Mr. W. W. Astor for the munificent donation which has enabled the work to be carried out on an extensive scale and with success. An account of the excavations of this session appears below.

The Director.—At the beginning of the session Mr. Dawkins, after paying a visit to the sister school at Rome, spent a month at Sparta arranging and preparing for publication the objects found in previous sessions. In the spring, with Mr. Thompson, he visited Cyprus and drew up a report on the condition of the antiquities of the island, returning to Athens through Asia Minor.

The rest of the session was spent either in administering the School at Athens or in superintending the excavations at Sparta. During July and August he travelled extensively in Asia Minor with the special object of investigating the Greek dialects in Cappadocia.

The Assistant Director and Students.—Mr. F. W. Hasluck, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, Assistant Director of the School, reached Athens in October. As before, he has collected much valuable material bearing on the later monuments and history of the Levant. In the course of several journeys he has pursued his researches in Thrace, Northern Greece, Laconia,

Constantinople, and S. W. Asia Minor, where in company with Mr. Woodward, he visited among other places Rhodes, Telmessos, Attaleia, Perge, Sillyon, and Aspendos. At Mytilene he continued his studies of the Genoese monuments and has now ready for publication detailed papers on the Gattelusi and Giustiniani monuments. These will eventually form part of his *Corpus of Mediaeval Latin Inscriptions of the Levant.* Mr. Hasluck has recently applied for a year's absence for further travel and research, a request with which the Managing Committee, having a high appreciation of his conscientious discharge of his duties for many sessions, have willingly complied. They are glad to announce that Mr. A. M. Woodward, the School Student of the past session, will act as Mr. Hasluck's *locum tenens.*

Mr. J. P. Droop, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, after studying Dr. Doerpfeld's latest discoveries at Olympia, travelled in Aetolia and Thessaly and spent four weeks at Almyro at work on the finds from the excavations at Zerelia. In the winter he was for five weeks at Sparta studying the pottery found in 1908 and preparing it for publication, and he spent the spring in Athens preparing for publication the results of his examination of the Laconian Vases in various European Museums. After travelling in the Peloponnesus, Mr. Droop took part in the excavations at Sparta and accompanied the Director on a visit to the Island of Kythera. He was unfortunately prevented by fever from again taking part in the Thessalian excavation during the summer, but the Committee are glad to learn that his health is thoroughly re-established.

Mr. J. M. Farrell, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, has again been at work upon the publication of the terracottas found at the Orthia Sanctuary, and has also made a study of the topography of Trachis. His most important work, however, has been the drawing up, at the Director's request, of a report on the present state of archaeological research in Cyprus. The Managing Committee take this opportunity of congratulating Mr. Farrell on the manner in which he executed this difficult task.

Mr. A. W. Gomme, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, has been engaged upon the preparation of a work on the topography of Boeotia. With this end in view, after spending some time in Athens, making preliminary studies and learning modern Greek, he made four tours in this province, visiting in succession every portion of the district, and making a special study of the ancient passes and trade-routes.

Mr. Maurice Thompson, B.A., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, began the session by travelling in the North of Greece in search of prehistoric sites and by working in Thessaly on the last season's finds from Zerelia. Early in the spring he worked in the Museum at Sparta and then accompanied the Director to Cyprus, returning to Athens through Asia Minor. After taking part in the excavations at Sparta, Mr. Thompson resumed those in Thessaly with Mr. Wace and Mr. Peet. He has since been doing exploring work in connexion with these excavations in N. Greece.

Mr. H. J. W. Tillyard, M.A., of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, came

out to Athens with a grant from the Hort Fund of the University of Cambridge for research in Greek Church Music. During the spring he studied in the National Library at Athens, being principally employed on the musical text of the Hymns of Casia, afterwards undertaking similar researches in the Island of Lesbos. He has collected typical recent variations of the Hymns of Casia in addition to the ancient form, and expects to have a critical edition of the melodies ready for publication in the course of the year.

Mr. A. J. B. Wace, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, after travelling in the North of Greece and making researches in connexion with his excavations at Zerelia and Almyro, proceeded to Sparta, where he continued during the winter his examination and classification of the enormous hoard of lead figurines. It is possible that no excavator has ever had such a mass of material of one kind to handle, these little figures now reaching the astonishing number of 100,000. After travelling in Argolis, Mr. Wace returned to Sparta for the excavations and then resumed his important investigations dealing with the early civilisations of N. Greece, of which an account is given below.

Mr. A. M. Woodward, B.A., of Magdalen College, Oxford, and holder of the School Studentship, after studying in the Museum at Bologna pursued his epigraphical studies in Athens during the winter. Part of the results of these, dealing with some new and important fragments of Attic treasure-lists, will appear in the autumn number of the *Hellenic Journal.* After travelling in Asia Minor with Mr. Hasluck, Mr. Woodward proceeded to Sparta to take charge of the inscriptions found in the excavations. Part of his work consisted in verifying several inscriptions copied by Cyriac and Fourmont and since lost. He has also prepared material for inclusion in the Laconian volume of the *Inscriptiones Graecae.*

Among former students and associates Mr. Guy Dickins, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, was again at the School in the spring engaged on work connected with the forthcoming *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum.* Mrs. Dickins, *née* Hamilton, who also paid a visit, has completed her studies for a work on *Greek Saints and their Festivals.* Mr. G. L. Cheesman, M.A., of New College, Oxford, spent four months in Greece, making extended travels with various members of the School and studying Greek topography and methods of excavation.

The Excavations.—The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia has now been finished, the Menelaion has been excavated and the more promising parts of the site of the ancient city examined by a series of trial-pits, with the result that it seems hardly likely that any site of importance remains for future excavation. A large trench was made in the theatre from the top of the auditorium to the orchestra, and it appears that the building is very much destroyed. In the lower parts the depth of earth is very great and houses have been built at a higher level, a process which has probably left very little of the theatre remaining.

The students of the School have again taken a full share in the excavation. Mr. Wace, besides assisting generally, took charge of the Menelaion, and prepared for publication the immense number of lead figurines found at the Orthia

Sanctuary. He was left in charge during the Director's visit to Cythera. Mr. Droop again superintended the pottery, and his expert knowledge was of great service, especially in dealing with the finds from the Menelaion. Mr. Woodward was present at the later half of the excavation, and was chiefly engaged in finishing the work of clearing the face of the late-Roman Wall which surrounds the Acropolis, in order to find the inscriptions which are built into it. Mr. Thompson worked at the Orthia Sanctuary and assisted Mr. Wace at the Menelaion. Mr. George, who had come out primarily to work for the Byzantine Fund, spent six weeks in Sparta, during which time he made a series of drawings of the finds and helped in the surveying.

Numerous visits were paid to the excavations by travellers and archaeologists. Mr. Farrell and Mr. Cheesman came from the School, and we welcomed amongst many others a party from the *Dunottar Castle*, who gave a generous subscription to the work. As foreman we again had Gregorios Antoniou of Larnaka.

A summary of the work of the season is added.

Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.—The additions made to our knowledge by this last year's campaign are best seen by comparing the latest plan with the plan published a year ago. The walls of the sacred enclosure at different periods have been found in great part, especially behind the temple and to the east of the altar. An investigation of the lowest strata has shewn that the archaic altar and primitive temple are later than the cobble pavement with which the *hieron* was paved, and the walls of the *hieron* at this early period have now been found. This gives an earlier stage of the sanctuary than had before been clearly made out. In this earliest stage the precinct was smaller than in subsequent periods and the centre of the cult nearer to the centre of the hollow in which the sanctuary stood. This is shewn by the position occupied by the deposit of black sacrificial ashes. At this stage there seems to have been no temple, but there are remains of what was probably the altar. The first stage of all is represented by the ashes and Geometric pottery found below the cobble pavement. In order to carry through this work a further small portion of the foundations of the Roman Amphitheatre was removed.

In the first year of the work, part of a large subterranean water-channel was discovered, and this has now been fully excavated. It dates probably from the fourth century B.C., and was broken into and largely destroyed by the building of the Roman Amphitheatre. Solidly built of dressed stones and roofed with large slabs it is a remarkable work, and very probably was constructed to carry off the water of a natural brook that in early times may have flowed down to the Eurotas through the hollow in which the sanctuary lay.

The archaic deposits proved to have been nearly exhausted in previous campaigns. Some important objects were, however, found, notably an ivory plaque representing the winged Orthia with a bird and a snake. This absence of finds from the outlying parts of the site satisfactorily proves that the whole sanctuary has now been exhausted and the full harvest reaped. The final publication of the objects found has still to be undertaken.

The Menelaion.—In May we were led to excavate the building which has been for long identified with the Menelaion. This building stands on a hill overlooking the east bank of the Eurotas with a commanding view of the site of Sparta. The work, which was completed in three weeks, was under the charge of Messrs. Wace and Thompson. The result is a plan differing materially from the sketch plan published by M. Kastriotis, who had already excavated the site. The building now reveals itself as an oblong platform which may have supported a small temple or other monument. This platform stood upon another, from which it was reached by a ramp, the traces of which are preserved. To this structure a terrace was added later on two sides. The date may be the fifth century.

An interesting series of bronzes, notably an archaic figure of a woman, terracottas, and lead figurines were found. The pottery was especially interesting as filling up a period (Laconian II.) which is not well represented in the series from the Orthia Sanctuary. The majority of these finds were made on the slope below the building in a position which shewed that they had been thrown out from it. Some of these certainly belonged to a period earlier than the present building, and some blocks were found which probably formed part of an antecedent structure.

Below all the other finds some undoubtedly Mycenaean sherds were discovered, and some Mycenaean houses, as yet only partially examined, were found a short distance away. This Mycenaean settlement will form the subject of future work.

N. Greece.—The subsidiary excavations carried on last year in N. Greece by Messrs. Wace, Droop, and Thompson have been resumed. Unfortunately Mr. Droop was prevented by illness from again taking part in the work, but the excavators were joined by Mr. T. E. Peet, who came out with a grant from the School given for this purpose. The Committee also desire to thank the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Liverpool for assisting with other friends in bearing the expenses of this excavation.

These excavations are designed to throw light on the early civilisation of N. Greece. Two sites were selected for this season's work:—Palaeomylos near Lianokladi in the Spercheios Valley, and Tzani Magoula near Sophades in W. Thessaly. At Lianokladi the excavators were at once successful by sinking deep shafts across the mound to the level of the virgin soil. They found three well-marked strata, in the lowest of which were sherds of the 'red and white' ware akin to, though of finer style than that which has been found in Thessaly and Phocis.

In the stratum above this the pottery changes completely and is of the 'black lustre' style similar to that found at Orchomenos by Dr. Furtwängler. The pottery of the third and topmost stratum was of a type hitherto unknown, a reddish-brown hand-made ware with black geometric patterning, which the excavators are disposed to regard as contemporaneous with Late Minoan III.

At Tzani Magoula, as at Zerelia last year, no less than eight successive settlements were excavated. The stratification here is particularly good and will make it possible to correlate this with the other prehistoric sites of N. Greece.

Among the more important finds were two or three nearly complete 'red on white' vases from Settlement VII., and a fine collection of bone pins.

These fruitful investigations have been carried on at very moderate cost, and the Committee desire again to congratulate the excavators on having conducted them thus successfully without prejudicing in any way the main excavation at Sparta.

Rhitsóna.—The excavations at Rhitsóna in Boeotia were continued by Professor Burrows from March 29th to April 17th, with the help of a grant from the University of Manchester. His primary object was to obtain further light on certain problems raised by the first season's work, and he excavated with special attention to the bone remains. He was fortunate in receiving a visit from Mr. C. H. Hawes during the excavations, and in securing his services later for a detailed examination of the bones in the Thebes Museum. Of the twenty early graves excavated, a large number contained undoubtedly single interments, and thus support the view maintained by Professor Burrows and Mr. Ure in *B.S.A.* xiv. that this was the normal practice at Rhitsóna. Their theory as to the late date of what they have called the Boeotian Kylix style is also supported by a number of tombs now found that contain Proto-Corinthian or good Corinthian, but no Boeotian kylikes. The number of vases excavated was, as before, very large. Among individual finds may be mentioned some Corinthian Black-figure or 'Rottonige,' the first found on the site, and an interesting stone sarcophagus, conveyed entire to the Museum at Thebes, containing a complete skeleton, Proto-Corinthian vases, and iron fibulae.

Mr. Ure has also paid two visits to Greece to prepare and arrange the first season's finds in the Thebes Museum, and Miss G. E. Holding spent some weeks there at the same work. The excavators are lucky in having to deal with so enlightened an archaeologist as Mr. Keramopoullos, who is doing his best to make the Museum at Thebes one of the most scientifically arranged in Greece. The 2,400 sixth-century vases and figurines that are being published in catalogue form in *B.S.A.* xiv. and *J.H.S.* xxix. pt. 2, are all exhibited grave by grave, and it is probable that the numbering used in publication will also be used for the Museum labels. The convenience of this for reference can hardly be overestimated.

Open Meetings.—Four open meetings were held: the *acta* were as follows:—

Friday, Dec. 5, 1908.—Inauguration of the bust of Francis Cranmer Penrose presented by the Greek Archaeological Society.
The Director: The Year's Work of the School.

Friday, Jan. 9, 1909.—Mr. F. W. Hasluck: Mediaeval Inscriptions of Aenos and the family of Gattelusi.
The Director: The Excavation of the Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta, 1908.

Friday, Feb. 12, 1909.—Mr. A. J. B. Wace: Excavations at Zerelia, Thessaly.
Mr. A. M. Woodward: The Magistracy of the divine Lycurgus at Sparta.

Friday, Mar. 6, 1909.—Mr. J. P. Droop: The Laconian Style of Vase-painting.
Mr. M. S. Thompson: The Winged Artemis.

Accounts of Meetings have appeared regularly in the Ἀθῆναι of Athens and the *Athenæum* of London, occasionally also in the *Morning Post*, *Hellenic Herald*, and other papers.

The Library.—The Library has been increased by the acquisition of 86 books (not including works in progress and periodicals), 58 pamphlets, and 2 maps, one of which is the large Austrian staff map of European Turkey.

The School is indebted to the following for gifts of books:—

H.M. Government of India; the Trustees of the British Museum; Egypt Exploration Fund; French Ministry of Public Instruction; Imperial Museum, Constantinople; Trinity Hall, Cambridge; Society for Distribution of Useful Books (Ἑταιρεία πρὸς διάδοσιν ὠφελίμων βιβλίων), Athens; Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the University Press at the following Universities: Oxford, Cambridge, Glasgow, and Upsala: Messrs. Baedeker, Duckworth, Macmillan, Murray, and Longmans.

The following authors have kindly presented copies of their works:—

Miss E. B. Abrahams, Dr. A. S. Arbanitopoullos, Prof. J. B. Bury, Canon C. M. Church, Mrs. Wyndham Cook, Dr. D. S. Dimitriadis, M. A. Diamantaras (Castellorizo), Dr. E. Gatsas, M. A. Goekoop, Prof. C. Gourlay, M. A. Hatzis, Mr. A. E. Henderson, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, Mr. G. Jeffery (Arch. Survey of Cyprus), Miss B. Kahnweiler, Dr. J. Keser (Geneva), Dr. P. E. Kontos, M. M. Krispis, Prof. Allan Marquand, Mr. W. Miller, Miss M. Moore, Dr. David Murray, Dr. M. Nillson (Fondation Ny Carlsberg), Dr. L. Pareti, M. M. Peristianis (Cyprus), Prof. A. von Premerstein, Dr. O. Rhoussopoulos, Dr. J. Thomopoulos, Prof. C. Waldstein, Mr. A. M. Woodward, Dr. Z. Zavitzianos.

Miscellaneous donations of books have been received from Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, the Director, Mr. W. J. Farrell, Mr. P. P. Hasluck, Dr. Kinch, Miss H. Knapp, the Librarian, and Mr. A. J. B. Wace.

Three water-colour drawings of Athens by the late C. R. Cockerell, R.A., presented by Mr. S. P. Cockerell, have been hung in the Common Room, and the bust of Mr. Penrose presented by the Greek Archaeological Society has been placed in its definitive position in the Library.

A partial rearrangement of the books on the shelves has been necessary to meet the growth of the Library for two or three sessions, after which it will be necessary to furnish for the reception of books the south-west wing of the Library adjoining the hostel. The large collection of photographs recently acquired is in process of being set out in an accessible fashion.

The inauguration of the bust of Mr. Penrose, presented by the Greek Archaeological Society, took place on December 5th, and was honoured by the presence of H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Greece. The bust, the work of an Athenian sculptor, Mr. Bonanos, was formally presented to the School by Dr. Kavvadias, and a eulogy of Mr. Penrose was delivered by Dr. Doerpfeld,

the First Secretary of the German Archaeological Institute. The Director also spoke. The bust now stands in the Library of the School, and the Committee take this opportunity of recording their sense of the honour conferred upon their first Director by his Athenian colleagues.

Publications.—*The Acropolis Catalogue.*—Steps are being taken for the publication of the first volume of this catalogue, dealing with the pre-Persian sculpture, the manuscript of which is now ready. By Dr. Schrader's generosity line-drawings from the photographs which he has had specially taken of these marbles will be available for the illustrations.

Palaikastro.—The final publication of this important site is now well advanced, and the survey of the district will be completed at the earliest date possible. A sum of money has been allocated by the Committee towards the expenses of this publication.

Plans for the coming Session.—The site of Sparta itself hardly promises much further. The Mycenaean settlement found this year near the Menelaion should be further explored, and there are some other sites in Laconia which should be tried before the School undertakes any new scheme of excavation. The publication of the finds from the Orthia Sanctuary will involve so much work for the staff that they will probably do well to confine the School's official excavations during this session to these points.

Acknowledgments.—The Managing Committee desire to tender sincere thanks for support accorded in various ways to the School to the following:—to Sir Francis Elliot, K.C.M.G., H.M. Minister at Athens, for his never failing care for the interests of the School; to Dr. Kavvadias, Ephor General of Antiquities in Greece, for his ready help always given to the Staff and Students; to the Consular Authorities at Salonika for their support of Mr. George in his work for the Byzantine Fund, and assistance to other members of the School working in Macedonia; to the American Missionaries in Asia Minor, especially Dr. Christie of Tarsus and Dr. Dodd of Talass, for their hospitality to the Director and Mr. Thompson; to H.E. the High Commissioner and the Government of Cyprus for their assistance to members of the School; to Mr. Cobham, formerly Commissioner of Larnaka, for much hospitality and help; to Dr. Stais, Director of the National Museum, and to Dr. Svoronos, Director of the Numismatic Museum at Athens, for many facilities and kind assistance; to the local representatives of the Ministry of Antiquities, and especially MM. Rhomaios, Arvanitopoullos, and Keramopoullos, for help and facilities in the excavations of the School; and to many friends for help kindly accorded to members of the School in their travels in Thessaly, Macedonia, Kythera, Cappadocia, and elsewhere.

It is also an appropriate occasion for the thanks of the Committee to be expressed to Sir Cecil Smith for his services in editing the *Annual* in England for many years, and to Mr. Tod, who, since he left Athens for Oxford, has ungrudgingly placed his epigraphical knowledge at the disposal of the Editors.

Finance.—The Revenue Account for the year shews a debit balance of £289 7*s.* 1*d.* as compared with a credit balance of £1,139 8*s.* 5*d.* for the preceding year. This result is mainly due to the fact that, while the donations to the Laconian Fund have been very small, the excavations at Sparta have involved considerable expenditure during the year. The total amount of annual subscriptions is £935 15*s.* 0*d.* as compared with £949 5*s.* 0*d.* for the preceding year. Six annual Subscribers have died during the year (two of whom subscribed large amounts), and three subscriptions have been discontinued, but ten new members appear in the list. It is much to be hoped that the increase in subscriptions which has been continuous for the last three years will again form a feature of the accounts of next year. The cost of the *Annual* has been heavy, viz. £463 14*s.* 5*d.*, but there are few expenses which the Committee so willingly ratify, and the sales again shew a satisfactory increase.

Professor MURRAY rose to move the adoption of the report. It was, he said, a great honour to occupy a position which had been taken by so many eminent scholars and illustrious statesmen on previous occasions. The School had certainly shewn that if only people would give it money as Mr. Astor had done, it knew how to use that money. Specialists had assured him that the work done this year at Sparta under Mr. Dawkins represented absolutely the high-water mark of scientific excavation. Had the great sites of the seventies and eighties been treated with the same scrupulous exactitude, our knowledge of the development of archaic Greek civilisation would have been far greater than it was. If he had to sum up in one inadequate phrase the work done for Greek studies by the School at Athens, he should say this—that it had made their studies real. At every turn the archaeologist was brought into touch with concrete objects. He might use his imagination as freely as he liked in interpreting them, but the concrete objects were there; and the influence of them had somehow permeated the whole of our study of Greek antiquity and helped to make it concrete. There was nothing it needed so much. Specialism was, of course, necessary in the classics as elsewhere. Our ordinary classical education in the past had failed chiefly owing to three causes: lack of variety, lack of concreteness, and lack of the spirit of progress and discovery. For the remedy of these defects they looked to work like that of the School at Athens. He did not think the standard of classical learning was ever as high as it was now; he doubted if there were ever as many individuals who knew Greek. Such had been the progress of discovery that in recent years the early history of Greece had been

rewritten from preface to colophon. The mass of unsolved, yet not hopeless, problems left facing us was greater than ever it was. Everywhere were signs that Greek was a flourishing, not a decaying study. Was there ever a time when the masterpieces of Greek art were as well known as at present, and often not only well known by sight, but intelligently and lovingly studied? There was never a time in England when so many working men and clerks on small salaries read Plato, translated or untranslated, or when the *Republic* could be so easily and naturally referred to at a meeting, say, of trade unionists. For example, he had seen a letter to a friend in Oxford written by a railway servant. He and his wife wanted advice about learning enough Greek to read Plato. They had already learned enough Greek to read the New Testament, and now wanted to go further. And how had they learned it? By means of a weekly newspaper, the *Sunday School Chronicle*, which gave every week a bit of Greek grammar and a reading lesson. We were losing compulsory Greek in the schools and universities. While in the interests of education he was prepared to accept that change, he did not pretend to regard it as a pure and unmixed blessing. But he would sooner have two students like that working couple just mentioned, than twenty reluctant public-school boys forced and cajoled through Pass Mods. The whole of Hellenic study was organically interconnected; all alike and together were serving in one common task, and helping to keep alive an ideal which the world must never be allowed to forget, the great complex of noble thought, keen sensitiveness to beauty, and strenuous endeavour, which bore the name of Hellenism.

The Director, Mr. R. M. DAWKINS, then gave an account of the excavations of the School during the past year. He spoke of the excavations by Messrs. Wace, Thompson, and Peet of two prehistoric tumuli, one in the Valley of the Spercheios and the other in the plain of Thessaly, a continuation of their work of the previous year. At Rhitsóna, in Boeotia, the ancient Mykalessos, Professor Burrows and Mr. Ure had continued their excavations of a large archaic cemetery, and found tombs richly furnished with vases and figurines. Summing up the main results of the completion of the excavation of the important sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, the speaker said that they shewed us that Orthia, to give her her true local Spartan name (for it was only after the Roman conquest that she was identified with the great goddess Artemis under the title of Artemis

Orthia), was the goddess who presided over all living things, animal and vegetable.

A series of slides, drawings, and photographs was shewn to illustrate this account of the excavations, which are fully published year by year in the *Annual* of the School.

The Rev. W. COMPTON moved the following resolution, which was seconded by Mr. G. F. HILL and carried unanimously:—

'That Dr. EVANS, Mr. D. G. HOGARTH, and Sir CECIL SMITH be re-elected, and Miss C. A. HUTTON be elected on the Committee.

'That Mr. V. W. YORKE be re-elected Treasurer and Mr. J. BAKER-PENOYRE be re-elected Secretary.'

A vote of thanks to the Auditors, moved by Dr. LEAF and seconded by Mr. BAKER-PENOYRE, was carried unanimously.

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chair moved by Mr. GEORGE A. MACMILLAN and carried by acclamation.

THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

1908–1909.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF REVENUE AND EXCAVATIONS,

3RD OCTOBER, 1908 TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1909.

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received or due during the year	935	15	0
Subscriptions received for 1907–8	7	4	0
Government Grant	500	0	0
Interest on Investment to July 5th	60	0	0
Interest on Deposit to June 30th	20	5	1
Sale of Annuals (Vols. I–XII)	180	11	8
Special Donations for Excavations:			
Crete 3 0 0			
Do. Laconia 21 19 0			
	24	19	0
Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Receipts	289	7	1
	£2,018	1	10

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
House Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1909				65	1	6
Hostel Maintenance, year to Midsummer 1909	131	4	4			
Less Students' Fees	89	10	6			
				41	13	10
Director's Stipend, to Michaelmas, 1909				500	0	0
Salary, Assistant Director				150	0	0
Publication of Annual (Vol. XIV)				463	14	5
Secretary's Salary to Midsummer, 1909				40	0	0
Sundries, including Printing, Postage, and Stationery				56	19	3
Studentship (Mr. Woodward)				100	0	0
Excavations: Laconia	527	19	4			
Do. Thessaly	50	0	0			
Do. Boeotia	21	11	6			
Do. Crete	1	2	0			
				600	12	10
				£2,018	1	10

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT,

3RD OCTOBER, 1908 TO 2ND OCTOBER, 1909.

	£	s.	d.
Donations, as per list	27	3	0
Balance, being excess of Expenditure over Receipts	79	11	11
	£106	14	11

	£	s.	d.
Library	106	14	11
	£106	14	11

BALANCE ACCOUNT, 2ND OCTOBER, 1909.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Subscriptions paid in advance . .		4 4 0
Balance, representing the funds of the School other than the property in land and building, furniture and library, as per last Account	3,622 11 1	
Less Balance of Expenditure over Receipts on Revenue and Excavations for the year as above . . .	289 7 1	
	3,333 4 0	
Less Capital as above	79 11 11	
		3,253 12 1
		£3,257 16 1

	£ s. d.
Investment—India 3% Stock, at par	2,000 0 0
Cash at Bank	
On Current Account . . .	157 16 1
On Deposit Account . . .	1,100 0 0
	£3,257 16 1

Examined and found correct.

EDWIN WATERHOUSE, F.C.A.

18th October, 1909.

DONATIONS—1908-1909.

	£	s.	d.
Barbour, G. F.	10	0	0
Benecke, P. V. M.	2	2	0
Hobhouse, H. H.	5	0	0
Kaines-Smith, S. C.	1	1	0
S.S. *Argonaut*, Camera Club	9	0	0
	£27	3	0

SPECIAL DONATIONS FOR EXCAVATIONS.

For Crete—

Tod, Mrs.	£3	0	0

For Laconia—

Bell, Miss G.	1	1	0
Caspari, M. O. B.	1	1	0
Dawes, Miss	2	0	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Penrose, Miss E.	1	1	0
Roberts, J. S.	2	2	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
S.S. *Dunottar Castle*	6	10	0
Tod, Mrs.	2	0	0
Tuckett, F. F.	2	2	0
Wilamowitz, Prof. von	1	1	0
	£21	19	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1908-1909.

	£	s.	d.
The University of Oxford	100	0	0
The University of Cambridge	100	0	0
The Hellenic Society	100	0	0
The Society of Antiquaries	5	5	0
The Leeds Library	1	0	0
Brasenose College, Oxford	5	0	0
Caius College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Christ Church, Oxford	20	0	0
Corpus Christi College, Oxford	5	0	0
King's College, Cambridge	10	0	0
Magdalen College, Oxford	20	0	0
McGill University, Montreal	5	5	0
L'Association de Lectures Philologiques, Lausanne	1	1	0
Westminster School Library	1	1	0
The Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool	1	0	0

	£	s.	d.
Abercromby, Hon. J.	2	2	0
Acland, Henry Dyke	1	1	0
Agnew, Sir W.	2	2	0
Aitchison, G.	1	1	0
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T.	1	1	0
Alma Tadema, Sir L.	2	2	0
Anderson, James	1	1	0
Anson, Sir W. R.	10	0	0
Ashby, Thomas	1	1	0
Austen Leigh, E. C.	1	1	0
Awdry, H.	1	1	0
Bailey, C.	1	1	0
Bailey, J. C.	5	0	0
Barlow, Sir T.	1	1	0
Barrington, Mrs. Russell	1	1	0
Bevan, E. R.	1	0	0
Blackburn, Mrs.	1	1	0
Blomfield, R.	2	2	0
Bodington, Dr. N.	1	0	0
Bosanquet, Prof. R. C.	1	1	0
Boyle, Miss F.	1	0	0
Brinton, H.	1	1	0
Bristol, Bishop of	1	1	0
Brooke, Rev. Stopford	1	1	0
Brooks, E. W.	1	0	0
Burnett, J. J.	1	1	0
Burnham, Lord	5	0	0
Burrows, R. M.	1	1	0
Bury, Prof. J. B.	1	1	0
Butcher, S. H.	2	2	0
Campbell, Rev. W. W.	1	1	0
Campion, Rev. C. T.	1	1	0
Carlisle, Miss	1	1	0
Carr, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Carr, H. Wildon	1	1	0
Carrington, J. B.	5	0	0
Caspari, M.	1	1	0
Caton, R.	1	1	0
Chawner, W.	2	2	0
Clark, C. R.	1	0	0
Clarke, Thornhill, T.B.	1	0	0
Clausen, A. C.	2	2	0
Clissold, H.	1	0	0
Colchester, Lord	5	0	0
Cole, A. C.	2	2	0
Compton, Rev. W. C.	1	1	0
Cooke, R.	1	1	0
Corbett, Sir V.	1	0	0
Crowfoot, J. W.	2	2	0
Cruddas, Miss	2	2	0
Curtis, Mrs. Omodei	1	0	0
Cust, Miss A. M.	1	1	0
Davidson, H. O. D.	1	1	0
Dickins, Mrs. A. L.	1	1	0
Donaldson, Rev. S. A.	1	1	0
Doerpfeld, Dr. W.	1	1	0
Douglas-Pennant, Hon. A.	1	1	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Earl, A. G.	1	1	0
Eccles, Mrs.	1	1	0
Elliot, Sir F. E. H.	1	0	0
Empedocles, G.	1	1	0
Eumorfopoulos, N.	2	0	0
Evans, A. J.	10	0	0
Evans, F. Gwynne	1	1	0
Farside, Mrs.	1	1	0
Fletcher, H. M.	1	1	0
Forbes, W. H.	1	1	0
Forster, E. S.	1	0	0
Fort, J. A.	1	0	0
Fotheringham, J. K.	1	0	0
Fowler, W. W.	1	1	0
Freshfield, D. W.	10	0	0

Carried forward £514 13 0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1907–1908 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	514	13	0
Frisch, E. S.	1	0	0
Fry, Sir E.	1	1	0
Furneaux, L. R.	1	0	0
Gardiner, E. Norman	1	0	0
Gardner, Prof. Percy	2	2	0
Giveen, R. L.	1	1	0
Goldsmith, Dr.	1	1	0
Gooch, G. P.	1	1	0
Goodwin, J. A.	1	1	0
Graham, E.	1	1	0
Grenfell, B. P.	1	1	0
Griffith, F. Ll.	1	1	0
Handcock, W.	1	1	0
Hasluck, P. P.	1	1	0
Hawes, Miss	1	1	0
Hay, C. A.	5	5	0
Heberden, C. B.	2	2	0
Henderson, A. E.	1	0	0
Hett, W. S.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, J. E.	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Miss Violet	1	1	0
Hodgkin, Thomas	10	0	0
Hogarth, D. G.	1	1	0
Hooper, G. N.	1	1	0
Hopkinson, J. H.	1	1	0
Hunt, W. Holman	1	1	0
Hutton, Miss C. A.	1	1	0
Impey, E.	1	1	0
James, Rev. S. R.	2	0	0
Kaines-Smith, S. C.	1	1	0
Kenyon, F. G.	1	1	0
Keser, Dr.	1	1	0
Lascelles, B. P.	1	0	0
La Touche, C. D.	1	0	0
Lawrence, A.	1	1	0
Leaf, Herbert	5	5	0
Leaf, Walter	50	0	0
Letts, M. H.	1	1	0
Lewis, Mrs. A. S.	2	2	0
Livesay, W.	1	0	0
Lloyd, Miss	1	1	0
Lorimer, Miss H. L.	1	0	0
Loring, W.	1	1	0
Lucas, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Lunn, W. H.	1	1	0
Lynch, H. F.	2	2	0
Lyttelton, Canon, Hon. and Rev. E.	1	1	0
Macan, R. W.	1	1	0
MacLehose, James J.	1	1	0
Macmillan, G. A.	50	0	0
Marindin, G. E.	1	1	0
Marshall, Miss A. M. C.	1	1	0
Marshall, F. H.	1	1	0
Matthews, Mrs.	1	1	0
Mayor, R. J. G.	1	1	0
McIver, D. R.	2	0	0
Miller, Rev. A.	1	1	0
Miller, W.	2	2	0
Milne, J. G.	1	1	0
Minturn, Miss E. T.	1	1	0
Mitchell, Mrs. E. H.	2	2	0
Mond, Ludwig	100	0	0
Morshead, E. D. A.	1	0	0
Moss, Rev. Preb. H. W.	1	1	0
Myers, E.	1	1	0
Mylne, Mrs.	2	2	0
Newman, W. L.	2	2	0
Nightingale, Mrs. H. Shore	1	1	0
Oppé, A. P.	1	1	0
Palli, Miss F. L.	1	1	0
Pearse, Rev. T. N. Hart-Smith	1	1	0
Pease, Mrs. J. W.	5	5	0
Penoyre, J. B.	1	0	0
Penrose, Miss	1	1	0
Perry, W. C.	1	1	0
Pesel, Miss Laura	1	0	0
Pesel, Miss Louisa F.	1	1	0
Phillimore, Prof. J. S.	1	1	0
Pickard-Cambridge, A. W.	1	0	0
Piddington, J. G.	2	2	0
Pilkington, A. C.	1	0	0
Pilkington, R. A.	1	0	0
Pollock, Sir F.	1	1	0
Powell, Miss C. M.	1	1	0
Poynter, Sir E. J.	5	0	0
Pryor, M. R.	1	0	0
Rawlinson, W. G.	1	1	0
Reid, Dr.	1	1	0
Rendall, Dr.	1	1	0
Richards, H. P.	1	1	0
Ridgeway, Prof. W.	1	1	0
Roberts, Prof. W. Rhys	1	1	0
Robertson, Malcolm	1	0	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Rotton, Sir J. F.	2	2	0
Sandys, Dr.	5	0	0
Schultz, R. W.	1	1	0
Scott-Moncrieff, Sir C.	1	1	0
Seaman, Owen	1	1	0
Searle, G. von U.	1	1	0
Seebohm, Hugh	1	1	0
Shove, Miss E.	1	1	0
Sloane, Miss	1	1	0
Smith, A. H.	1	1	0
Stewart, Mrs. H. F.	1	1	0
Carried forward	£862	16	0

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS—1907–1908 (*continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	862	16	0
Swan, Mrs.	1	1	0
Tancock, Rev. C. C.	1	1	0
Thompson, F. E.	1	1	0
Thornely, Miss A. M. M.	1	1	0
Tod, M. N.	1	0	0
Tod, T. N.	1	1	0
Tod, Mrs.	5	0	0
Tozer, Rev. H. F.	10	0	0
Tuckett, F. F.	1	0	0
Tuke, Miss	1	1	0
Vaughan, E. L.	1	0	0
Verrall, Dr.	1	1	0
Vince, J. H.	1	0	0
Wace, Mrs.	2	2	0
Ward, Dr. A. W.	1	0	0
Ward, John	1	0	0
Waldstein, Prof C.	1	1	0
Warren, T. H.	1	1	0
Weber, Sir H.	1	1	0
Webster, E. W.	1	0	0
Wells, J.	1	1	0
Welsh, Miss	2	2	0
Wernher, Sir Julius	25	0	0
Whibley, Leonard	1	0	0
Wilson, R. D.	1	1	0
Withers, J. J.	1	1	0
Woodhouse, W. J.	1	1	0
Woodward, A. M.	1	1	0
Yorke, V. W.	5	0	0
Total	£935	15	0

	£	s.	d.
Received during the year	942	0	0
Paid in advance last year	5	3	0
	947	3	0
Less Paid in advance at date	4	4	0
„ on account of 1907–8 as below	7	4	0
	11	8	0
	£935	15	0

Received during the year Subscriptions for 1907–8 :—

	£	s.	d.
Aitchison, G.	1	1	0
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B.	1	0	0
Dundas, R. H.	1	0	0
Eccles, Mrs.	1	1	0
Moss, Rev. Preb. H. W.	1	1	0
Rodd, Sir R.	1	1	0
Webster, E. W.	1	0	0
Total	£7	4	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

NOTE. Under No. V. of the Rules and Regulations, "the following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.
(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription."

In making out the following list, donations of less than £10 have been regarded as aggregate annual subscriptions of £1, and are spread over a corresponding number of years.

The Treasurer would be glad to be informed of any changes of address or errors in this list, which is made up to May 17th, 1910.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING.
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.
THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.
THE UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM.
THE MCGILL UNIVERSITY, Montreal.
THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.
THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES, Burlington House, Piccadilly.
THE SOCIETY OF DILETTANTI (per E. H. Pember, Esq., K.C., 32, Great George Street, S.W.).
BRASENOSE COLLEGE, Oxford.
CAIUS COLLEGE, Cambridge.
CHRIST CHURCH, Oxford.
CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, Oxford.
KING'S COLLEGE, Cambridge.
MAGDALEN COLLEGE, Oxford.
MANCHESTER. VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF
NEWNHAM COLLEGE, Cambridge.
L'ASSOCIATION DE LECTURES PHILOLOGIQUES, Valentin 44, Lausanne.
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, Cambridge.
SYDNEY, UNIVERSITY OF (The Fisher Library).
THE INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY, 38–42, Bedford Street, Liverpool.
THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF BRITISH ARCHITECTS, 9, Conduit Street, W.
THE GREEK PLAY COMMITTEE (per J. W. Clark, Esq., Scroop House), Cambridge.
THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF CLOTHWORKERS, Mincing Lane, E.C.
THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF GOLDSMITHS, Goldsmiths' Hall, E.C.
THE LEEDS LIBRARY, Commercial Street, Leeds.
WESTMINSTER SCHOOL LIBRARY.

Abercrombie, J., Esq., M.D., Angill, Brough, Westmoreland.
Abercromby, The Hon. John, 62, Palmerston Place, Edinburgh.
Acland, Henry Dyke, Esq., Lamorva, Falmouth.
Agg-Gardner, J. T., Esq., Carlton Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
Agnew, Sir William, Bart., 11, Great Stanhope Street, Park Lane.
Alexander, W. C., Esq., 24, Lombard Street, E.C.
Allbutt, Prof. Sir T. Clifford, F.R.S., K.C.B., St. Rhadegunds, Cambridge.
Allen, H. W., Esq., Ormond College, Melbourne University, Melbourne.
Alma Tadema, Sir L., R.A., 34, Grove End Road, N.W.
Anderson, James, Esq., 19, Odos Loukianou, Athens.
Anson, Sir W. R., Bart., M.P., All Souls' College, Oxford.
Ashby, Thos., Esq., British School at Rome, Palazzo Odescalchi, Rome.

Austen-Leigh, E. C., Esq., Eton College.
Avebury, The Right Hon. Lord, High Elms, Down, Kent.

Bagehot, Mrs. W., 4, Melbury Road, Kensington, W.
Bailey, Cyril, Esq., Balliol College, Oxford.
Bailey, J. C., Esq., 20, Egerton Gardens, S.W.
Baker, Herbert, Esq., Castle Co. Buildings, Capetown.
Balfour, The Right Hon. G. W., Fisher's Hill, Woking.
Barbour, Geo. F., Esq., Bonskeid, Pitlochry, N.B.
Barbour, Mrs., Bonskeid, Pitlochry, N.B.
Barlow, Sir T., Bart., M.D., 10, Wimpole St., W.
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[1] This grant was afterwards returned to the University.

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E. E. Sikes. M.A.	Fellow and Tutor of St. John's College, Cambridge. Appointed to Cambridge Studentship, 1890—91.
J. G. Milne. M.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Appointed to Oxford Studentship, 1890—91.
H. Stuart Jones. M.A.	Formerly Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford, and Director of the British School at Rome. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1890—91. Re-admitted 1892—93.
Miss Eugénie Sellers (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).	Girton College, Cambridge. Keeper of the Duke of Devonshire's Collections. Admitted 1890—91.
F. Brayne Baker. M.A.	Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Malvern College. Admitted 1891—92.
C. C. Inge. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Curate of Cranleigh, Guildford. Appointed 1891—92 to the Oxford Studentship.
E. F. Benson. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1891—92, with grant of £100 from the Worts Fund at Cambridge; 1892—93 on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship; 1893—94 as Craven Student; and 1894—95 as Prendergast Student.
J. G. Piddington. M.A. (J. G. Smith)	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1891—92. Re-admitted 1895—96.
V. W. Yorke. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted 1893—94.
J. L. Myres. M.A.	Student and Tutor of Christ Church, and late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. Professor of Greek History in the University of Oxford. Admitted 1892—93 as Craven Fellow. Re-admitted 1893—94 and 1894—95. Hon. Student of the School.
R. J. G. Mayor. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Examiner in the Board of Education. Admitted 1892—93.

R. C. Bosanquet. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool. Assistant Director of the School, 1899—1900. Director 1900—1906. Admitted 1892—93. Re-admitted as Craven University Student 1894—95. Re-admitted as Craven Student 1895—96 and 1896—97.
J. M. Cheetham.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship. 1892—93.
E. R. Bevan. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1893—94.
A. F. Findlay.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
T. Duncan.	Sent out from Aberdeen by the Church of Scotland. Admitted 1894—95.
J. E. Brooks. M.A.	St. Peter's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1894—95. Re-admitted as Associate 1896—97.
H. Awdry. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Assistant Master at Wellington College. Admitted 1894—95.
Duncan Mackenzie. M.A. (Edin.), Ph.D. (Vienna)	Universities of Edinburgh and Vienna. Carnegie Fellow in History at the University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—6. Re-admitted 1896—97, 1897—98 and 1898—99.
Archibald Paterson.	University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1895—96.
Charles R. R. Clark.	Student of the Royal Academy. Appointed 1895—96, and re-appointed 1896—97, by the Managing Committee to an Architectural Studentship.
C. C. Edgar. B.A.	Oriel College, Oxford. Inspector of Antiquities for Lower Egypt. Admitted 1895—96, and re-admitted 1896—97 (as Craven University Fellow), 1897—98 and 1898—99.
F. R. Earp. M.A.	Late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
F. A. C. Morrison. M.A.	Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted (as Prendergast Greek Student) 1896—97.
H. H. West. M.A.	Formerly of Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Miss C. A. Hutton.	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1896—97.
Pieter Rodeck.	Architect to Arab Monuments Committee, Cairo. Admitted 1896—97 as Travelling Student and Gold Medallist of the Royal Academy.
J. G. C. Anderson. M.A.	Formerly Fellow of Lincoln College. Student, Tutor, and Censor of Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted (as Craven University Fellow) 1896—97.
J. W. Crowfoot. M.A.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Assistant Director of Education and Acting Curator of Antiquities, Sudan Government. Formerly in the Education Department, Cairo. Lecturer in Classics, Mason College and University, Birmingham. Admitted, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1896—97. Re-admitted 1897—98.
W. W. Reid.	Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Admitted, as holder of Blackie Travelling Scholarship, 1896—97.
A. E. Henderson. R.B.A.	Owen Jones Student of Royal Institute of British Architects, 1897—98. Admitted 1897—98. Re-admitted 1898—99, 1901—02, and 1902—03.
W. A. Curtis.	Heriot Scholar of Edinburgh University. Admitted 1897—98.

A. J. Spilsbury. M.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, on appointment to the Oxford Studentship.
E. B. Hoare.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1897—98, as Architectural Student.
J. C. Lawson. M.A.	Fellow and Lecturer of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Admitted as Craven University Student, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
C. D. Edmonds. M.A.	Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Royal Naval College, Osborne. Formerly at Aldenham School. Admitted as Prendergast Student, 1898—99.
J. H. Marshall. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Director-General of the Archaeological Survey of India. Admitted 1898—99. Re-admitted as Prendergast Student, 1900—01.
Clement Gutch. M.A.	King's College, Cambridge. Lecturer at St. John's College, Cambridge. Admitted, 1898—99, on appointment to the Cambridge Studentship.
F. B. Welch. M.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Second Master at Pocklington School. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1898—99. Re-admitted 1899—1900.
T. D. Atkinson.	Admitted as Architectural Student, 1898—99.
J. K. Fotheringham. M.A.	Merton and Magdalen Colleges, Oxford. Lecturer in Classical Literature at King's College, London. Examiner in the University of London; Brassey Research Student. Admitted on appointment to Oxford Studentship, 1898—99.
J. H. Hopkinson. M.A.	University College, Oxford. Warden of Hulme Hall and Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Manchester. Formerly Lecturer in Greek, University of Birmingham. Admitted as Craven University Fellow, 1899—1900 and 1900—01.
S. C. Kaines-Smith.	Magdalene College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Cambridge Studentship.
Miss O. C. Köhler (Mrs. Charles Smith).	Girton College, Cambridge. Admitted 1899—1900.
D. Theodore Fyfe.	Architectural Association Travelling Student, 1899. Admitted 1899—1900, on appointment to Architectural Studentship.
K. T. Frost. M.A., F.R.G.S.	Brasenose College, Oxford. Ministry of Public Instruction, Egypt. Formerly Lecturer in Classics at Isleworth. Officer of the Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1904—05. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1900—01.
R. D. Wells. B.A., F.R.I.B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1900—01.
J. ff. Baker-Penoyre. M.A.	Keble College, Oxford. Secretary and Librarian to the Society for Promoting Hellenic Studies. Secretary to the British Schools in Athens and Rome. Admitted 1900—01.
Marcus N. Tod. M.A.	Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, and University Lecturer in Greek Epigraphy. Craven University Fellow. Assistant-Director of the School 1902—1904. Admitted on appointment to "Senior Studentship," 1901–02.

F. W. Hasluck. M.A.	Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Assistant Director of the School from 1906. Admitted on appointment to Cambridge Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1902—03, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07.
C. Heaton Comyn. A.R.I.B.A., M.R.San.I.	Admitted on appointment to the Architectural Studentship, 1901—02. Re-admitted 1903-04.
Miss H. L. Lorimer.	Girton College, Cambridge. Classical Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. Admitted as Pfeiffer Travelling Student, 1901—02.
Baroness E. Rosenörn-Lehn.	Royal Holloway College, and University College, London. Admitted 1901—02.
A. P. Oppé. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Examiner in the Board of Education. Formerly Lecturer in Greek at St. Andrews University. Admitted 1901—02.
W. L. H. Duckworth. M.D., Sc.D., M.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. University Lecturer in Physical Anthropology. Admitted 1902—03.
C. T. Currelly. B.A.	Victoria College, Toronto. Assistant to Professor Flinders Petrie, under the Egypt Exploration Fund. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04.
R. McG. Dawkins. M.A.	Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Director of the School from 1906. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted as Craven Student, 1903—04. Re-admitted 1904—05.
E. S. Forster. M.A.	Bishop Frazer's Scholar, Oriel College, Oxford. Lecturer in Classics in the University of Sheffield. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in the University College of N. Wales. Admitted on appointment to the Oxford Studentship, 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903-04, with grants from the Craven Fund and Oriel College.
A. J. B. Wace. M.A.	Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Prendergast Student. Craven Student. Assistant Director of the British School at Rome, 1905. Admitted 1902—03. Re-admitted 1903—04, 1904—05, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09.
E. W. Webster. M.A.	Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Taylorian Scholar in German, 1901. John Locke Scholar in Mental Philosophy, 1904. Admitted 1902—03.
J. F. Fulton.	Soane Student. Admitted 1902—03.
E. F. Reynolds.	Admitted 1902—03.
M. O. B. Caspari. B.A.	Late Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. University Scholar in German. Lecturer at University College, Gower Street, W. Admitted 1903—04.
J. L. Stokes. B.A.	Scholar of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Librarian of Charterhouse School. Admitted (as Holder of the Prior Scholarship from Pembroke College), 1903-04.
Miss M. K. Welsh (Mrs. A. M. Daniel).	Newnham College, Cambridge. Holder of the Marion Kennedy Scholarship. Admitted 1903-04.
G. Dickins. B.A.	Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. Craven Fellow. Admitted 1904—05. Re-admitted as School Student, 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09.
C. C. T. Doll. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1904—05.
C. H. Hawes. M.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Anthropology, University of Wisconsin, U.S.A. Admitted 1904—05.

W. A. Kirkwood. M.A.	University College, Toronto. Admitted 1904—05.
H. J. W. Tillyard. B.A.	Caius College, Cambridge. Lecturer in Greek, University of Edinburgh. Admitted 1904—05 as Assistant Librarian. Re-admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to Studentship), 1906—07, 1908—09.
Miss G. M. A. Richter.	Girton College, Cambridge. Assistant Curator in Department of Classical Antiquities, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Admitted 1904—05.
J. P. Droop. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant to Dr. Stein in the arrangement of his collections. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07, 1907–08, 1908—09.
Miss M. Hamilton. B.A. (Mrs. G. Dickins).	University of St. Andrews. Holder of a Research Scholarship under the Carnegie Trust. Admitted 1905—06, 1906—07.
A. C. B. Brown. B.A.	Scholar of New College, Oxford. Formerly Assistant Lecturer in Classics, Manchester University. Assistant Master at Marlborough College. Admitted 1905—06.
F. Orr.	Admitted 1905—06.
R. Traquair. A.R.I.B.A.	Admitted 1905—06 (on appointment to an Architectural Studentship). Lecturer on Architecture to the Edinburgh College of Art.
Miss E. B. Abrahams.	University College, London. Admitted 1905—06.
J. Farrell. B.A.	Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Admitted 1906—07, 1907—08, 1908—09.
Walter George.	Admitted 1906—07.
T. E. Peet. B.A.	Queen's College, Oxford. Admitted 1906—07, 1908—09.
A. M. Woodward. B.A.	Late Classical Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford. Assistant Director, 1909—10. Admitted 1906—7, 1907—08, 1908—09.
W. M. Calder. B.A.	Christ Church, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
W. Harvey.	Gold Medallist and Travelling Student of the Royal Academy. Admitted 1907—08.
H. Pirie-Gordon. B.A.	Magdalen College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
M. S. Thompson. B.A.	Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Holder of Chas. Oldham University Scholarship. Admitted 1907—08, 1908—09.
A. C. Sheepshanks. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Assistant Master at Eton. Admitted 1907—08.
N. Whatley. B.A.	Fellow of Hertford College, Oxford. Admitted 1907—08.
G. L. Cheeseman. M.A.	New College, Oxford. Admitted 1908—09.
A. W. Gomme. B.A.	Trinity College, Cambridge. Admitted 1908—09.

ASSOCIATES OF THE SCHOOL.

Rev. A. H. Cruikshank.	Elected	1896.
Ambrose Poynter, Esq.	,,	1896.
J. E. Brooks, Esq.	,,	1896.
Miss Louisa Pesel.	,,	1902.
J. F. Crace, Esq.	,,	1902.
Miss Mona Wilson.	,,	1903.
J. S. Carter, Esq.	,,	1903.
B. Townsend, Esq.	,,	1903.
A. M. Daniel, Esq.	,,	1903.
H. W. Allen, Esq.	,,	1906.
W. Miller, Esq.	,,	1906.
George Kennedy, Esq.	,,	1906.

SUGGESTED PLAN OF STUDY.

Under an ideal system a student would spend two or three seasons in Greece, devoting *the first year to general studies, the second to some special subject.*

During the first year the student, while not losing sight of his special subject, might apportion his time thus :—

August and September.—Learn German in Berlin, Munich, or Dresden, and thus be able to profit by the three or four courses of lectures given by the Secretaries of the German and Austrian Institutes in Athens. For archaeological literature some knowledge of German is practically essential.

October.—Arrive in Greece. Acquire if possible some use of Modern Greek. See Olympia, Delphi, Mycenae, Epidaurus, the Argive Heraion, before the November rains.

November (middle).—Remain three or four months in Athens steadily working at sites and in Museums, attending courses of lectures and making frequent short excursions to points of interest by train, cycle, etc.

March and April.—Travel, study sites, join one of the Island cruises for students.

May and June.—Begin to concentrate on special work, *e.g.* assist in excavations, with a view to working upon the results during the coming year and excavating with more or less complete control in the second summer,

or explore a given district in Greece or Asia Minor, an island or a group of islands,

or work in museums in Italy, Austria, or Germany,

or attend lectures in Pompeii and spend some months in Rome and the cooler Etruscan cities. In this case the student is advised to attach himself to the British School at Rome (Palazzo Odescalchi), in order that he may be admitted to the Library, and have the right to attend the lectures (see rules of the School).

The second year should be devoted almost entirely to special work in a narrower field.

The course here suggested must be modified to suit each case. There will always be students who are already specialists in some branch of classical learning and only seek fresh material for research. There will be others who wish to see something of all sides of ancient life in order to illuminate their reading and fit themselves for general classical teaching, although they have not time for minute archaeological study.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ATHENS.

OBJECTS OF THE SCHOOL.

I. The first aim of the School shall be to promote the study of Greek archaeology in all its departments. Among these shall be (i) the study of Greek art and architecture in their remains of every period; (ii) the study of inscriptions; (iii) the exploration of ancient sites; (iv) the tracing of ancient roads and routes of traffic.

II. Besides being a School of Archaeology, it shall be also, in the most comprehensive sense, a School of Classical Studies. Every period of the Greek language and literature, from the earliest age to the present day, shall be considered as coming within the province of the School.

III. The School shall also be a centre at which information can be obtained and books consulted by British travellers in Greece.

IV. For these purposes a Library shall be formed, and maintained, of archaeological and other suitable books, including maps, plans, and photographs.

THE SUBSCRIBERS.

V. The following shall be considered as Subscribers to the School:—

(1) Donors, other than Corporate Bodies, of £10 and upwards.

(2) Annual Subscribers of £1 and upwards during the period of their subscription.

VI. A corporate body subscribing not less than £50 a year, for a term of years, shall, during that term, have the right to nominate a member of the Managing Committee.

VII. A meeting of Subscribers shall be held in October of each year, at which each Subscriber shall have one vote. A subscribing corporate body may send a representative. At this meeting a report from the Managing Committee shall be presented, including a financial statement and selections from the reports of the Director and Students for the season. At this meeting shall also be annually elected or re-elected the Treasurer and the Secretary of the School, two Auditors, and four members of the Managing Committee, in place of those retiring under Rule XIII. (3).

VIII. Special meetings of Subscribers may, if necessary, be summoned by the Managing Committee.

IX. Subscribers shall be entitled to receive a copy of any reports that may be published by the School, to use the Library, and to attend the public meetings of the School, whenever they may be in Athens.

THE TRUSTEES.

X. The property of the School shall be vested in three Trustees, who shall be appointed for life, except as hereinafter provided. Vacancies in the number of Trustees shall be filled up at the annual meeting of the Subscribers.

XI. In the event of a Trustee becoming unfit or incapable of acting, he may be removed from his office by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a special meeting of Subscribers summoned by the Managing Committee for that purpose, and another Trustee shall by the same majority be appointed in his place.

XII. In the event of the death or resignation of a Trustee occurring between two annual meetings, the Managing Committee shall have the power of nominating another Trustee to act in his place until the next annual meeting.

THE MANAGING COMMITTEE.

XIII. The Managing Committee shall consist of the following:—

(1) The Trustees of the School.

(2) The Treasurer and Secretary of the School.

(3) Twelve Members elected by the Subscribers at the annual meetings. Of these, four shall retire in each year, at first by lot, afterwards by rotation. Members retiring are eligible for re-election.

(4) The members nominated by corporate bodies under Rule VI.

XIV. The Committee shall have control of all the affairs of the School, and shall decide any dispute that may arise between the Director and Students. They shall have power to deprive any Student of the use of the school-building.

XV. The Committee shall meet as a rule once in every two months; but the Secretary may, with the approval of the Chairman and Treasurer, summon a special meeting when necessary.

XVI. Due notice of every meeting shall be sent to each member of the Committee by a summons signed by the Secretary. Three members of the Committee shall be a quorum.

XVII. In case of an equality of votes, the Chairman shall have a second or casting vote.

XVIII. In the event of vacancies occurring among the officers or on the Committee between the annual elections, they may be provisionally filled up by the Committee until the next annual meeting.

HONORARY STUDENTS, STUDENTS, AND ASSOCIATES

XIX. The Students shall consist of the following :—

(1) Holders of travelling fellowships, studentships, or scholarships at any University of the United Kingdom or of the British Colonies.

(2) Travelling Students sent out by the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Byzantine Research and Publication Fund, or other similar bodies.

(3) Other persons who shall satisfy the Managing Committee that they are duly qualified to be admitted to the privileges of the School.

XX. No person, other than a student of the British School at Rome, shall be admitted as a Student who does not intend to reside at least three months in Greek lands. In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence in Greece.

XXI. Students attached to the School will be expected to pursue some definite course of study or research in a department of Hellenic studies, and to write in each season a report upon their work. Such reports shall be submitted to the Director, shall by him be forwarded to the Managing Committee, and may be published by the Committee if and as they think proper.

XXII. Intending Students are required to apply to the Secretary. They will be regarded as Students from the date of their admission by the Committee to the 31st day of October next following; but any Student admitted between July 1st and October 31st in any year shall continue to be regarded as a Student until October 31st of the following year.

XXIII. The Managing Committee may elect as Honorary Students of the School such persons as they may from time to time deem worthy of that distinction, and may also elect as Associates of the School any persons actively engaged in study or exploration in Greek lands.

XXIV. Honorary Students, Students, and Associates shall have a right to use the Library of the School and to attend all lectures given in connexion with the School, free of charge.

XXV. Students shall be expected to reside in the Hostel provided for them, except with the sanction of the Managing Committee. Priority of claim to accommodation in the Hostel shall be determined by the Committee.

THE DIRECTOR.

XXVI. The Director shall be appointed by the Managing Committee, on terms which shall be agreed upon at the time, for a period of not more than three years. He shall be eligible for re-election.

XXVII. He shall have possession of the school-building as a dwelling-house.

XXVIII. It shall be his duty (1) to guide and assist the studies of Students and Associates of the School, affording them all the aid in his power, and also to see that reports are duly furnished by Students, in accordance with Rule XXI., and placed in the hands of the Secretary before the end of June; (2) to act as Editor of the School Annual.

XXIX. (*a*) Public Meetings of the School shall be held in Athens during the season, at which the Director and Students of the School shall read papers on some subject of study or research, and make reports on the work undertaken by the School. (*b*) The Director shall deliver lectures to Students of the School. At least six of such meetings and lectures shall be held in the course of each session.

XXX. He may at his discretion allow persons, not Students of the School, to use the Library and attend his lectures.

XXXI. He shall be resident at Athens from the beginning of November in each year to the end of the following June, but shall be at liberty to absent himself for short periods for purposes of exploration or research.

XXXII. At the end of each season he shall report to the Managing Committee—(i) on the studies pursued during the season by himself and by each Student; (ii) on the state of the School-premises and the repairs needed for them; (iii) on the state of the Library and the purchases of books, &c., which he may think desirable; and (iv) on any other matter affecting the interests of the School.

XXXIII. In case of misconduct the Director may be removed from his office by the Managing Committee by a majority of three-fourths of those present at a meeting specially summoned for the purpose. Of such meeting at least a fortnight's notice shall be given.

RULES FOR THE MACMILLAN HOSTEL.

XXXIV. The management of the Hostel shall be at the discretion of the Director and shall be subject to his control.

XXXV. The Director shall have power to exclude a Student from the Hostel in case of misconduct; but such exclusion must be immediately reported to the Managing Committee.

XXXVI. The Students shall, until further notice, pay a fixed charge of twelve shillings a week for the smaller, and fourteen shillings a week for the larger rooms in the Hostel. These payments shall include fire, lighting, and the necessary servants' wages.

XXXVII. Honorary Students, Associates, members of the Committee, and ex-directors may be admitted to residence in the Hostel. Other persons, if seriously engaged in study or research, may be admitted by the Director at his discretion. But no person shall reside in the Hostel under this rule to the exclusion of any Student desiring admission.

XXXVIII. The weekly charge for residents other than Students shall be seventeen shillings and sixpence until further notice.

XXXIX. The Director shall draw up further rules for the internal management of the Hostel; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

RULES FOR THE LIBRARY.

XL. The Director shall have power to make rules for the management of the Library, its use by Students, and the like; such rules to be subject to the approval of the Managing Committee.

PUBLICATION.

XLI. No publication whatever, respecting the work of the School, shall be made without the previous approval of the Committee.

THE FINANCES.

XLII. All money received on behalf of the School beyond what is required for current expenses shall be invested in the names and at the discretion of the Trustees.

XLIII. The banking account of the School shall be placed in the names of the Treasurer and Secretary, who shall sign cheques jointly.

XLIV. The first claim on the revenue of the School shall be the maintenance and repair of the School-building, and the payment of rates, taxes, and insurance.

XLV. The second claim shall be the salaries of the Director and Secretary, as arranged between them and the Managing Committee.

XLVI. In case of there being a surplus, a sum shall be annually devoted to the maintenance of the Library of the School and to the publication of a report; and a fund shall be formed from which grants may be made for travelling and excavation.

Revised, 1908.

MANAGING COMMITTEE, 1909—1910.

EDWIN FRESHFIELD, ESQ., LL.D.
WALTER LEAF, ESQ., Litt.D.
GEORGE A. MACMILLAN, ESQ., D.Litt., *Chairman.*
} *Trustees.*

PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Oxford.
J. E. SANDYS, ESQ., Litt.D. Appointed by the University of Cambridge.
MISS JANE E. HARRISON, D.Litt., LL.D. Appointed by the Hellenic Society.

PROFESSOR R. C. BOSANQUET, M.A.
ARTHUR J. EVANS, ESQ., D.Litt., LL.D.
THEODORE FYFE, ESQ., F.R.I.B.A.
PROFESSOR ERNEST GARDNER, M.A.
D. G. HOGARTH, ESQ., M.A.
MISS C. A. HUTTON.
W. LORING, ESQ., M.A.
R. J. G. MAYOR, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR J. LYNTON MYRES, M.A.
PROFESSOR J. S. REID, Litt.D.
SIR CECIL HARCOURT SMITH, LL.D.
M. N. TOD, ESQ., M.A.
PROFESSOR CHARLES WALDSTEIN, Litt.D.
} Appointed by the Subscribers.

V. W. YORKE, ESQ., M.A., *Hon. Treasurer*, The Farringdon Works, Shoe Lane, E.C.
JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, ESQ., M.A., *Secretary*, 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.

DIRECTOR, 1909—1910.

R. M. DAWKINS, ESQ., M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
Acting Assistant Director:—A. M. WOODWARD, ESQ., Magdalen College, Oxford.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS.

CONTRIBUTORS to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* are requested to use the following systems of transliteration when writing in English such Greek words as have not become part of the English language :—

ANCIENT GREEK.

Vowels.

$\alpha = a$: $\left\{ \begin{matrix} \epsilon \\ \eta \end{matrix} \right. = e$:	krater, lekane.
$\iota = i$:	kalpis.
$\left\{ \begin{matrix} o \\ \omega \end{matrix} \right. = o$:	kothon, kantharos, Amyklaion.
$\upsilon = y$	after a consonant, as aryballos, kylix ; *u* after another vowel, as boule.
$\alpha\iota = ai$:	Aigion, Erythrai, except at the end of words, such as Mycenae, which are commonly Latinised in form, when *ae* may be used.
$\epsilon\iota = ei$:	Meidias.
$o\iota = oi$:	Chalkioikos.
$\upsilon\iota = ui$:	muia.
$a\upsilon = au$:	Aulis.
$\epsilon\upsilon = eu$:	Eutychos.
$o\upsilon = ou$:	boule.

Consonants.

$\beta = b$; $\gamma = g$; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k$[1] ; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; $\sigma, \varsigma = s$; $\tau = t$; $\phi = ph$; $\chi = ch$; $\psi = ps$; $\gamma\gamma = ng$; $\gamma\kappa = nk$; $\gamma\chi = nch$; $\acute{\rho} = rh$.

[1] κ never $= c$ except for place-names like Corinth, Mycenae, or some names of persons like Cleon, which have become English words.

Accents.

Contributors are requested to indicate accents and breathings very clearly and accurately.

MODERN GREEK.[1]

Vowels.

$\left.\begin{array}{l} \alpha = a: \\ \epsilon = e: \\ \eta = e: \\ \iota = i: \end{array}\right\}$ Πέντε Πηγάδια = Pénte Pegádia.

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} o \\ \omega \end{array}\right. = o: \left.\right\}$ Γεώργιος = Geórgios.

$\upsilon = y$: Μολάοι = Moláoi. But for *αυ*, *ευ*, *ου* see below.

$\alpha\iota = ai$: Καισαριανή = Kaisariané.

$\epsilon\iota = ei$: Ἁγία Εἰρήνη = Hagía Eiréne.

$o\iota = oi$: Μύλοι = Mýloi.

$\upsilon\iota = ui$: ψυχουϊός = psychoyiós.

$o\upsilon = ou$: Σκριποῦ = Skripoú.

$\left\{\begin{array}{l} \alpha\upsilon \\ \epsilon\upsilon \end{array}\right. = af$ and *ef* before unvoiced consonants (θ, κ (ξ, ψ), π, ς, τ, ϕ, χ) and *av*, *ev* before vowels and voiced consonants: Εὐθύμιος = Efthýmios; Λαύρα = Lávra.

Consonants.

$\beta = v$; $\gamma = g$, but $\gamma\gamma$, $\gamma\kappa$ and $\gamma\chi$ as *ng*, *nk* and *nch*; $\delta = d$; $\zeta = z$; $\theta = th$; $\kappa = k$; $\lambda = l$; $\mu = m$; $\nu = n$; $\xi = x$; $\pi = p$; $\rho = r$; $\rho\rho = rrh$; $\acute{\rho} = rh$; σ, $\varsigma = s$; $\tau = t$; ϕ, χ, $\psi = ph$, *ch*, *ps*.

The rough breathing to be written h: Ἅγιος Γεώργιος = H. Geórgios.

Accents.

Accents, in all cases to be written as acute, to be indicated.

In any case where the Greek form of the word is felt to be obscured it may be added in Greek letters (in brackets) the first time a word occurs, and conversely the exact pronunciation, if it should be of importance for any reason, may be specially indicated.

[1] The arguments in support of this system will be found in Mr. R. M. Dawkins' paper on 'The Transliteration of Modern Greek' in *B.S.A.* vol. xv.

ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

For the conventions respecting the indication of quotations from ancient and modern authorities, titles of periodical and collective publications, transliteration of inscriptions, and quotations from MSS. and literary texts, contributors are referred to the accompanying notes drawn up by the Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and kindly placed by them at the disposal of contributors to the *Annual*.

[REPRINTED FROM *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VOL. XXIX., PART II., 1909, PP. LXXXVII—IX.]

Quotations from Ancient and Modern Authorities.

Names of authors should not be underlined; titles of books, articles, periodicals, or other collective publications should be underlined (for italics). If the title of an article is quoted as well as the publication in which it is contained, the latter should be bracketed. Thus:

Six, *Jahrb.* xviii. 1903, p. 34,

or—

Six, *Protogenes* (*Jahrb.* xviii. 1903), p. 34.

But as a rule the shorter form of citation is to be preferred.

The number of the edition, when necessary, should be indicated by a small figure above the line; *e.g.* Dittenb. *Syll.*^{2} 123.

Titles of Periodical and Collective Publications.

The following abbreviations are suggested, as already in more or less general use. In other cases, no abbreviation which is not readily identified should be employed.

A.-E.M. = Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen.
Ann. d. I. = Annali dell' Instituto.
Arch. Anz. = Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch).
Arch. Zeit. = Archäologische Zeitung.
Ath. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Arch. Inst., Athenische Abteilung.
Baumeister = Baumeister, Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums.
B.C.H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.

Berl. Vas. = Furtwängler, Beschreibung der Vasensammlung zu Berlin.
B M. Bronzes = British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes.
B.M.C. = British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins.
B.M. Inscr. = Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum.
B.M. Sculpt. = British Museum Catalogue of Sculpture.
B.M. Terracottas = British Museum Catalogue of Terracottas.
B.M. Vases.—British Museum Catalogue of Vases, 1893, etc.
B.S.A. = Annual of the British School at Athens.
B.S.R. = Papers of the British School at Rome.
Bull. d. I. = Bullettino dell' Instituto.
Busolt = Busolt, Griechische Geschichte.
C.I.G. = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.
C.I.L. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Cl. Rev. = Classical Review.
C.R. Acad. Inscr. = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions.
C.R. St. Pét. = Compte rendu de la Commission de St. Pétersbourg.
Dar.-Sagl. = Daremberg-Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités.
Dittenb. *O.G.I.* = Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae.
Dittenb. *Syll.* = Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum.
Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. = Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχαιολογική.
G.D.I. = Collitz, Sammlung der Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften (or Collitz-Bechtel).
Gerh. *A.V.* = Gerhard, Auserlesene Vasenbilder.
G.G.A. = Göttingensche Gelehrte Anzeigen.
Head, *H.N.* = Head, Historia Numorum.
I.G. = Inscriptiones Graecae.[1]
I.G.A. = Röhl, Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae.
Jahrb. = Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
Jahresh. = Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts.
J.H.S. = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
Klio. = Klio (Beiträge zur alten Geschichte).
Le Bas-Wadd. = Le Bas-Waddington, Voyage Archéologique.
Michel = Michel, Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques.
Mon. d. I. = Monumenti dell' Instituto.
Müller-Wies. = Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler der alten Kunst.
Mus. Marbles. = Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum.
Neue Jahrb. kl. Alt. = Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum.
Neue Jahrb. Phil. = Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie.

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[1] The attention of contributors is called to the fact that the titles of the volumes of the second issue of the Corpus of Greek Inscriptions, published by the Prussian Academy, have now been changed, as follows :—

I.G.	I.	=	Inscr. Atticae anno Euclidis vetustiores.
,,	II.	=	,, ,, aetatis quae est inter Eucl. ann. et Augusti tempora
,,	III.	=	,, ,, aetatis Romanae.
,,	IV.	=	,, Argolidis.
,,	VII.	=	,, Megaridis et Boeotiae.
,,	IX.	=	,, Graeciae Septentrionalis.
,,	XII.	=	,, Insul. Maris Aegaei praeter Delum.
,,	XIV.	=	,, Italiae et Siciliae.

Niese = Niese, Geschichte der griechischen u. makedonischen Staaten.
Num. Chr. = Numismatic Chronicle.
Num. Zeit. = Numismatische Zeitschrift.
Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.
Philol. = Philologus.
Ramsay, *C.B.* = Ramsay, Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia.
Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* = Ramsay, Historical Geography of Asia Minor.
Reinach, *Rép. Sculpt.* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Sculptures.
Reinach, *Rép. Vases* = S. Reinach, Répertoire des Vases peints.
Rev. Arch. = Revue Archéologique.
Rev. Ét. Gr. = Revue des Études Grecques.
Rev. Num. = Revue Numismatique.
Rev. Philol. = Revue de Philologie.
Rh. Mus. = Rheinisches Museum.
Röm. Mitt. = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung.
Roscher = Roscher, Lexicon der Mythologie.
S.M.C. = Sparta Museum Catalogue.
T.A.M. = Tituli Asiae Minoris.
Z.f.N. = Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

Transliteration of Inscriptions.

[ ] Square brackets to indicate additions, *i.e.* a lacuna filled by conjecture.

( ) Curved brackets to indicate alterations, *i.e.* (1) the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol; (2) letters misrepresented by the engraver; (3) letters wrongly omitted by the engraver; (4) mistakes of the copyist.

< > Angular brackets to indicate omissions, *i.e.* to enclose superfluous letters appearing on the original.

. . . Dots to represent an unfilled lacuna when the exact number of missing letters is known.

- - - Dashes for the same purpose, when the number of missing letters is not known.

Uncertain letters should have dots under them.

Where the original has iota adscript, it should be reproduced in that form; otherwise it should be supplied as subscript.

The aspirate, if it appears on the original, should be represented by a special sign, ʰ.

Quotations from MSS. and Literary Texts.

The same conventions should be employed for this purpose as for inscriptions, with the following *important exceptions.*

( ) Curved brackets to indicate only the resolution of an abbreviation or symbol.

[[ ]] Double square brackets to enclose superfluous letters appearing in the original.

<> Angular brackets to enclose letters supplying an omission in the original.

British School at Athens.

THIS School (founded in 1886) gives to British Students of Greek Archaeology and Art the opportunity of pursuing their researches in Greece itself, with command of the means which the recent great advances of the science have rendered indispensable.

Athens is now an archaeological centre of the first rank. The architecture of Greece can nowhere else be studied to such advantage; and the concentration in the Athenian museums of treasures of Antiquity found in Greek soil during the last few decades of years has made a personal knowledge of those museums in the highest degree desirable for Hellenic scholars.

The student requires two auxiliaries when working in Athens. First, the command of an adequate library; and second, the advice of trained archaeologists residing on the spot, who follow the rapid advance of the science, due to new discovery and the rearrangement of old materials.

These advantages are now provided for French, German, Austrian, American, and British archaeologists. By means of these Schools many excavations on Greek soil have been carried out; and those conducted in Cyprus, in the Peloponnese, in Melos, in Crete, and, finally, in Sparta and Northern Greece by the British School during the past twenty-four Sessions are an encouraging proof of the work that may be done in the future if the School be adequately supported. The *Annual of the British School at Athens*, an archaeological periodical of recognisedly high standing, affords an opportunity for the publication of the Students' more important results.

Students are admitted free of charge. They are required to pursue some definite course of Hellenic study or research, residing for the purpose not less than three months in Greek lands,[1] and at the end of the Session to write a report of the work they have done. Applications from intending students should be made to the Secretary, JOHN ff. BAKER-PENOYRE, Esq., 19, Bloomsbury Square, W.C., who will also give full information.

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[1] In the case of Students of the British School at Rome, an aggregate residence of four months at the two Schools will be accepted as alternative to three months' residence at the School at Athens.

June, 1910.

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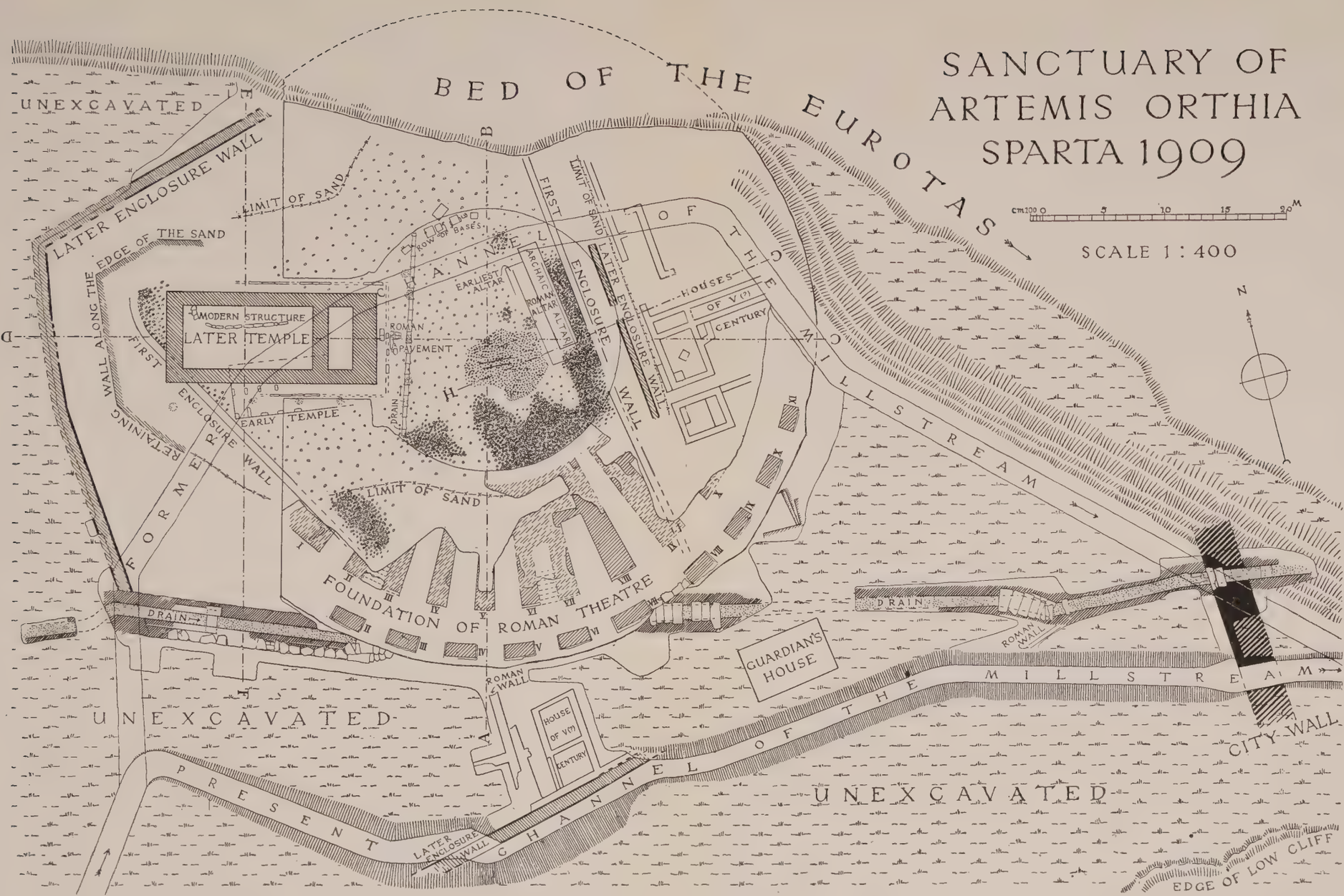
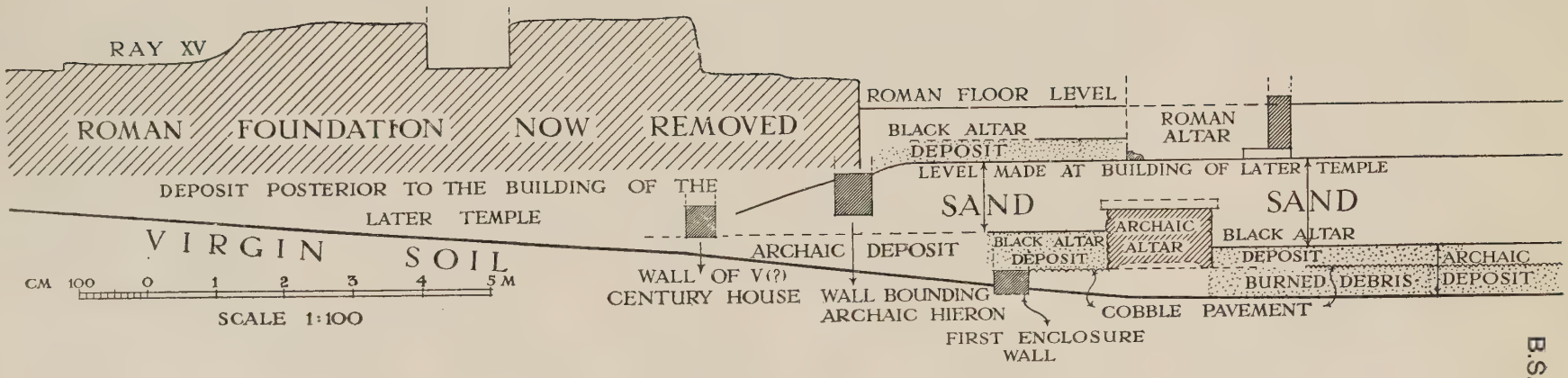

SANCTUARY OF
ARTEMIS ORTHIA
SPARTA 1909
SCALE 1 : 400
BED OF THE EUROTAS
UNEXCAVATED
LATER ENCLOSURE WALL
LIMIT OF SAND
EDGE OF THE SAND
WALL ALONG THE EDGE OF THE SAND
RETAINING WALL
FIRST ENCLOSURE WALL
MODERN STRUCTURE
LATER TEMPLE
EARLY TEMPLE
ROW OF BASES
ROMAN PAVEMENT
DRAIN
CHANNEL OF THE MILLSTREAM
EARLIEST ALTAR
ARCHAIC ALTAR
ROMAN ALTAR
FIRST ENCLOSURE
LATER ENCLOSURE WALL
HOUSES OF V(?) CENTURY
FOUNDATION OF ROMAN THEATRE
ROMAN WALL
GUARDIAN'S HOUSE
HOUSE OF V(?) CENTURY
PRESENT CHANNEL OF THE MILLSTREAM
LATER ENCLOSURE WALL
CITY WALL
EDGE OF LOW CLIFF
N



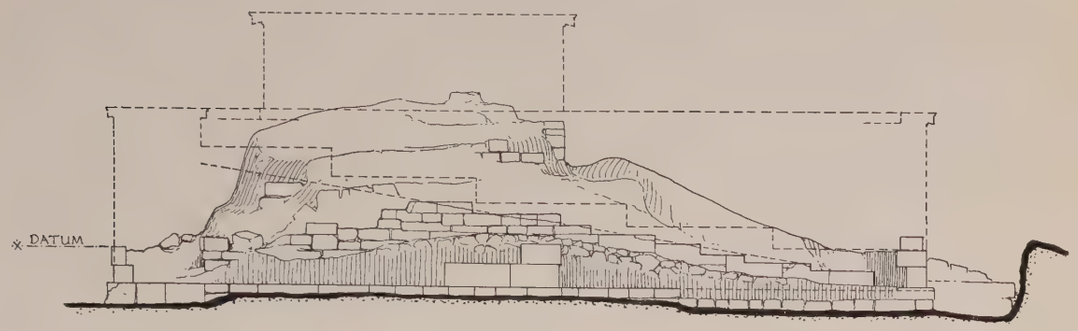
Section on Line G—H in Plan (*see* Pl. I).

Sparta: Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia.

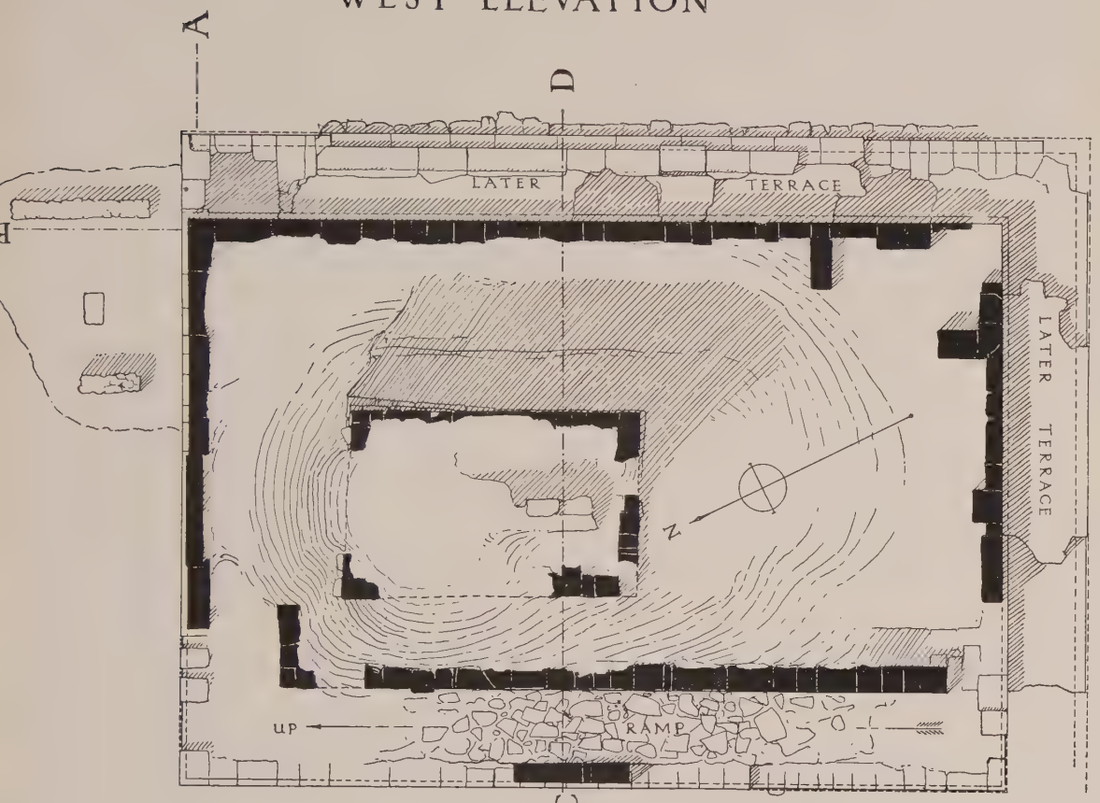
SPARTA: LAKAINA OF LACONIAN II. STYLE. (SCALE 3 : 4).

SPARTA: LAKAINA OF LACONIAN II. STYLE (see Pl. III). DETAILS OF HANDLES AND DECORATION.

MENELAION SPARTA



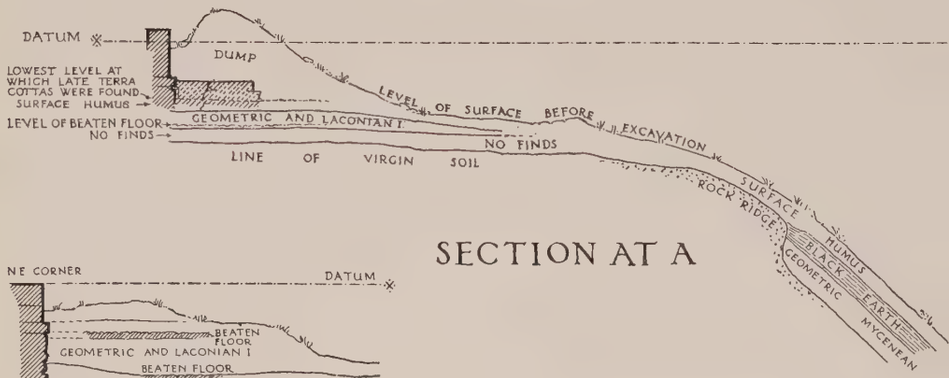
WEST ELEVATION



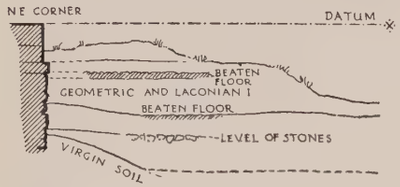
PLAN

SCALE 1 : 200 Cm. 10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 Metres.

CROSS SECTION ON LINE C-D



SECTION AT A



SECTION AT B

MENELAION SPARTA

SCALE Cm. 10 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 M 1 : 200

Sparta, Menelaion: Terracotta Figurines (Scale 4 : 5).

Sparta, Menelaion: Lead Figurines (Scale 4 : 5).

Sparta, Menelaion: Jewellery and Bronzes (Scale 4 : 5).

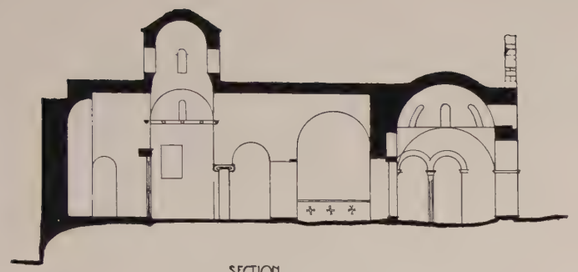
Sparta, Menelaion: Bronzes (Scale 4 : 5).

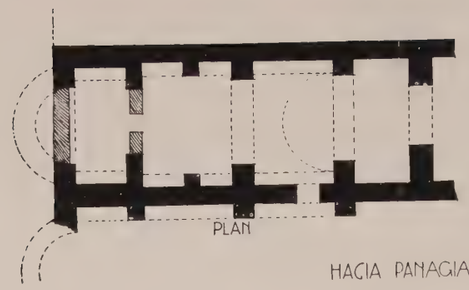
Sparta, Menelaion: Bronze Statuette (Scale nearly 1 : 1).

BOULARIOI

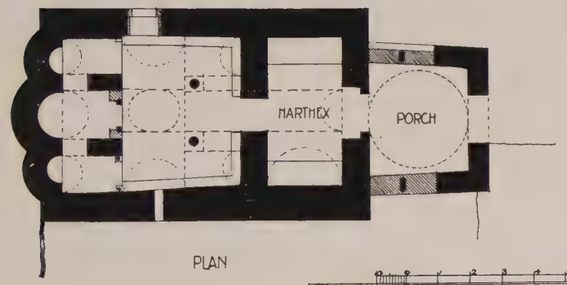
ASOMATO NEAR BOULARIOI

LOWER MANI GREECE

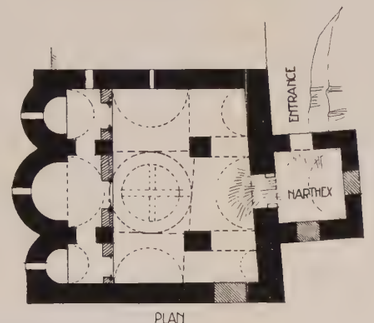


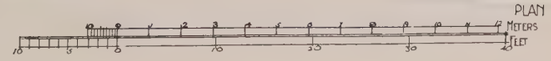


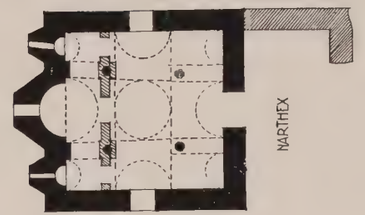
HAGIA PANAGIA, NOMIA



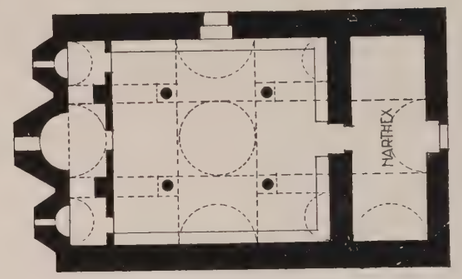
HAGIOS STRATEGOS



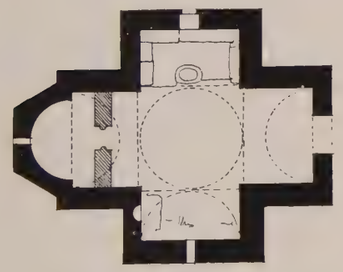




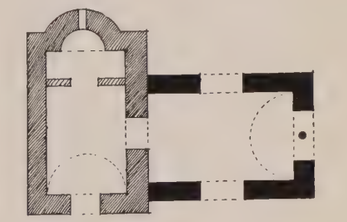
HAGIOS GEORGIOS KITTA.



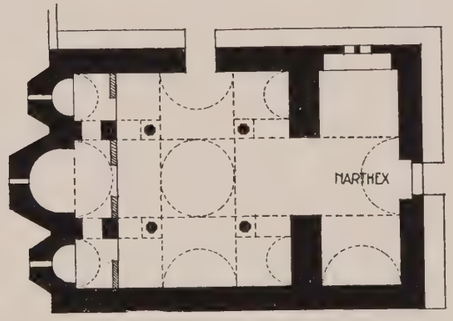
HAGIOS IOANNES KERIA.



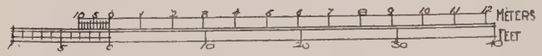
HAGIOS PETROS. PYRGOS

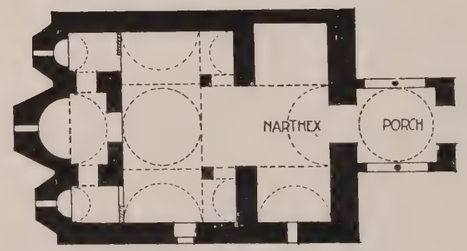


HAGIOS GEORGIOS. DRIALOS



HAGIOS TAXIARCHES · KAROUDA





HAGIOS SOTER CARDENIZA

THE CHURCHES OF WESTERN MANI: CHURCHES IN LOWER MANI.

H. Steategos, Boularioi, from the S.W.

H. Soter, Gardenitsa, from the N.W.

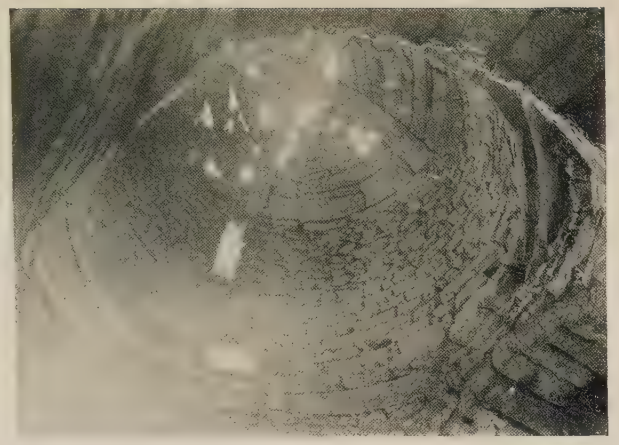
H. Georgios, Drialos, from the S.E.

H. Nikolaos, Ochia, from the N.W.

H. taxiarches, Karouda, from the S.W.

Church at Kardamyle, from the S.W.

The Churches of Western Mani: Views of the Churches.



Asomato, The Dome.

Dekoulos Church, Itylo, Painting of the West Vault.

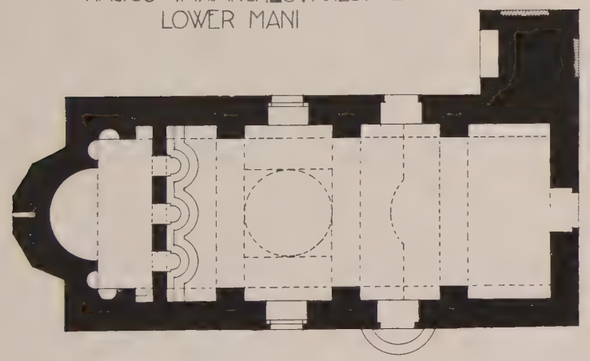
H. Nikolaos, Ochia, Interior.

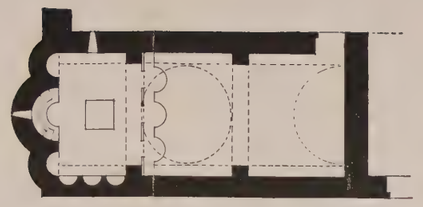
H. Georgios, Kitta, The Dome.

Portrait in the Eikonostasis, Koimesis, Prasteion.

The Churches of Western Mani: Interiors of the Churches.

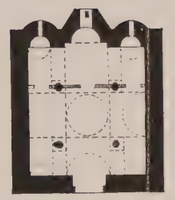
HAGIOS TAXIARCHES, AREOPOLIS.
LOWER MANI



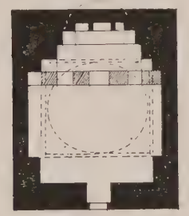


MONASTERY CHURCH, ITYLO.

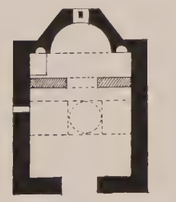
UPPER MANI



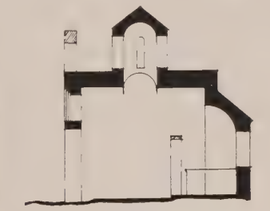
METAMORPHOSIS TOU SOTEROS.
KOUTIPHARI



HAGIOI ANARGYROI. KOUMANI NEAR KOUTIPHARI



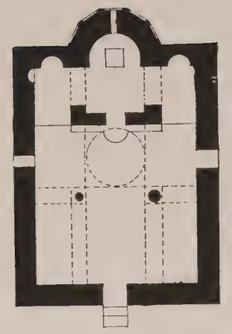
PLAN



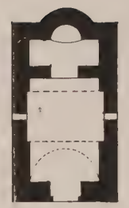
SECTION

HAGIOS ELIAS. ABYSOLA NEAR KOUTIPHARI

PLATSA · UPPER MANI
GREECE

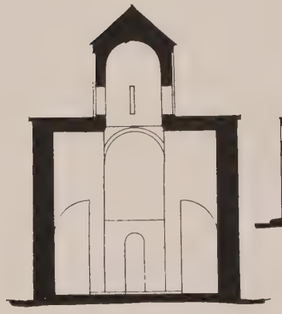


PLAN



PLAN

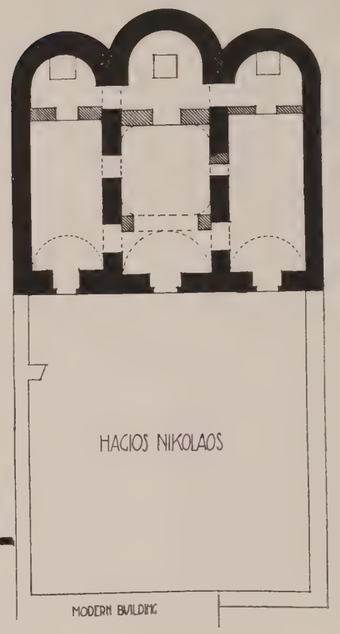
HAGIA PARASKEVÈ

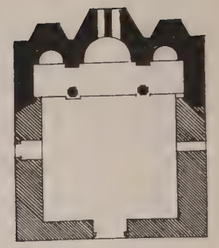


SECTION

HAGIOS IOANNES

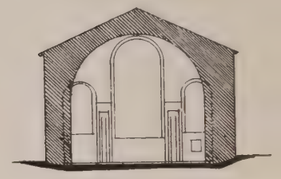
SECTION





PLAN

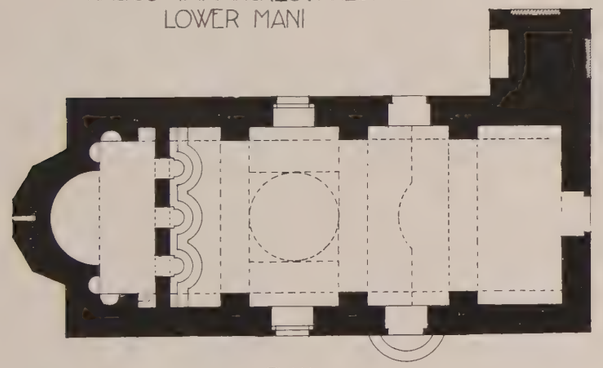
HAGIOS DEMETRIOS

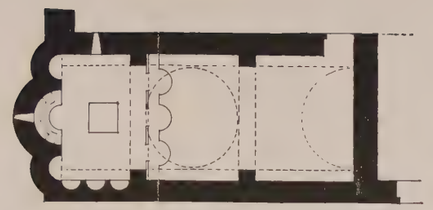


SECTION

THE CHURCHES OF WESTERN MANI: PLANS OF CHURCHES.

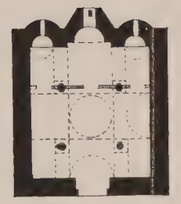
HAGIOS TAXIARCHES. AREOPOLIS.
LOWER MANI



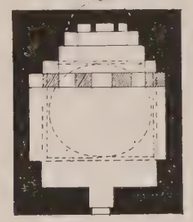


MONASTERY CHVRCH, ITYLO.

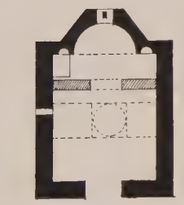
UPPER MANI



METAMORPHOSIS TOU SOTEROS.
KOUTIPHARI



HAGIOI ANARGYROI. KOUMANI near KOUTIPHARI

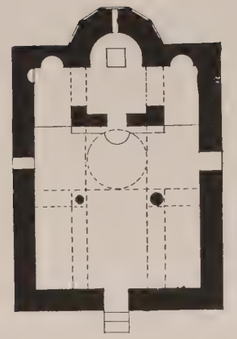


PLAN

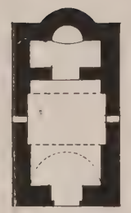
SECTION

HAGIOS ELIAS. ABYSOLA near KOUTIPHARI

PLATSA · UPPER MANI
GREECE



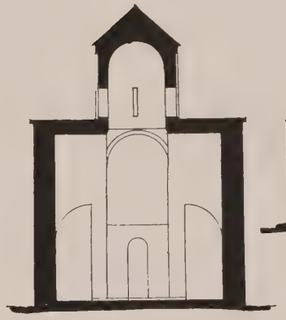
PLAN



PLAN

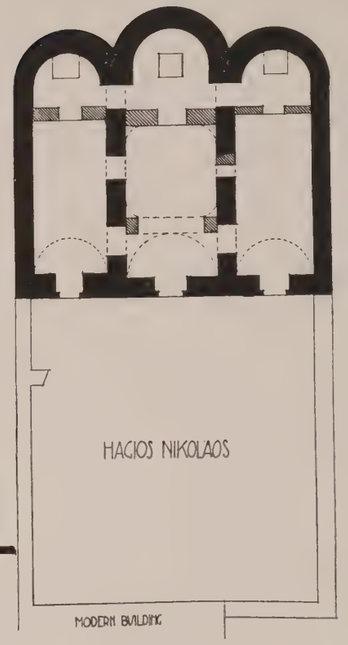
HAGIA PARASKEVÈ

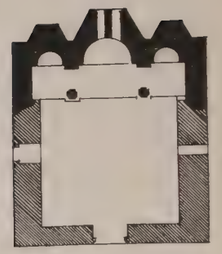
SECTION



SECTION

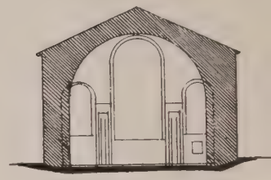
HAGIOS IOANNES





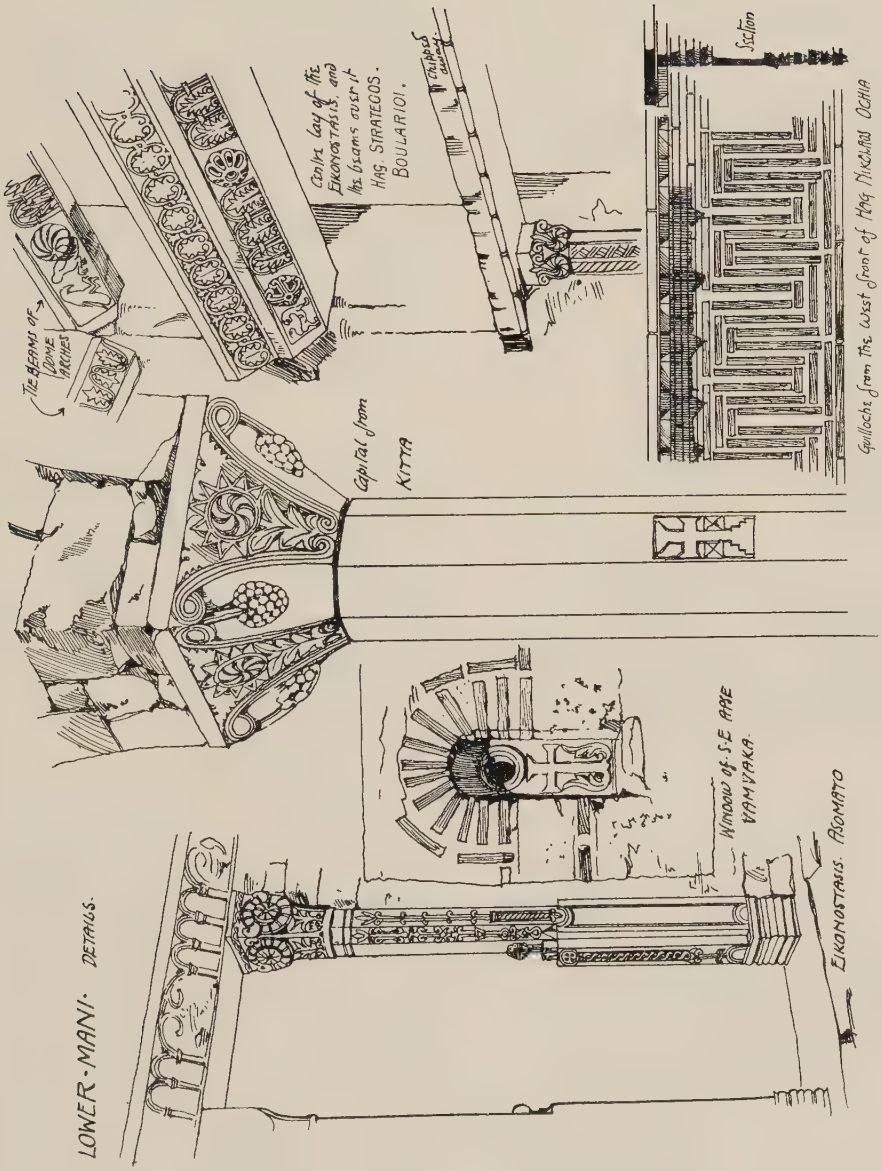
PLAN

HAGIOS DEMETRIOS



SECTION

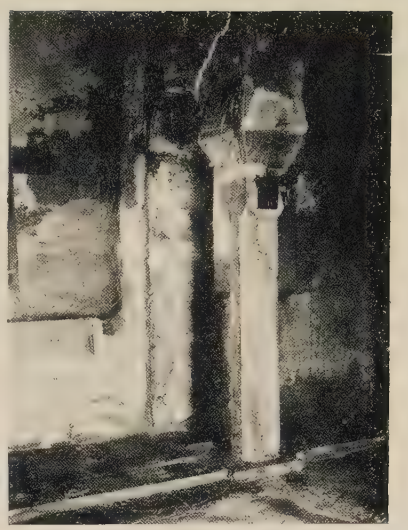
The Churches of Western Mani: Plans of Churches.



THE CHURCHES OF WESTERN MANI: DETAILS OF DECORATION.

Dekoulos Church, Itylo. Interior.

H. Joannes, Platsa, from the S.E.



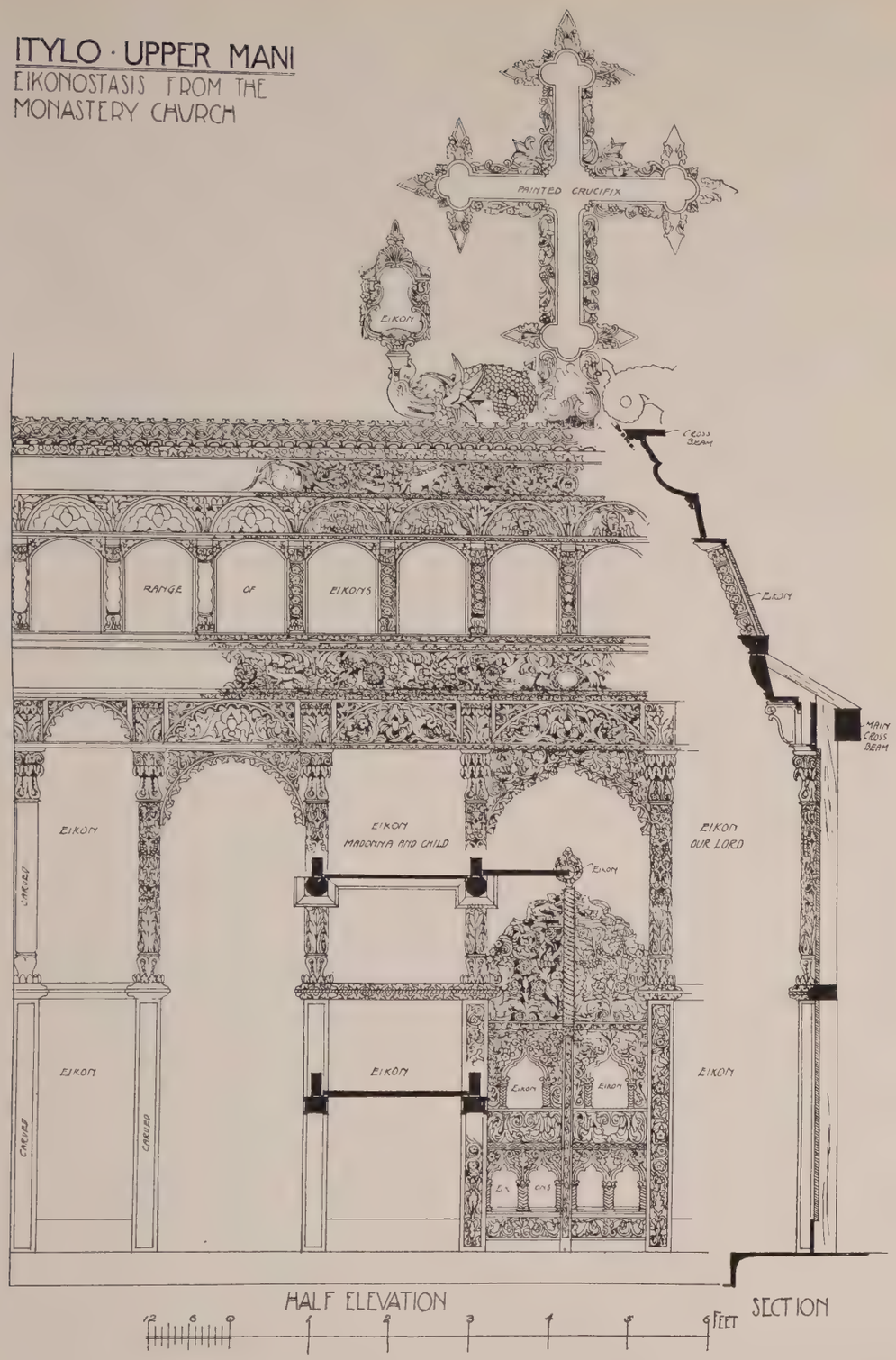
H. Demetrios, Platsa, E. End.

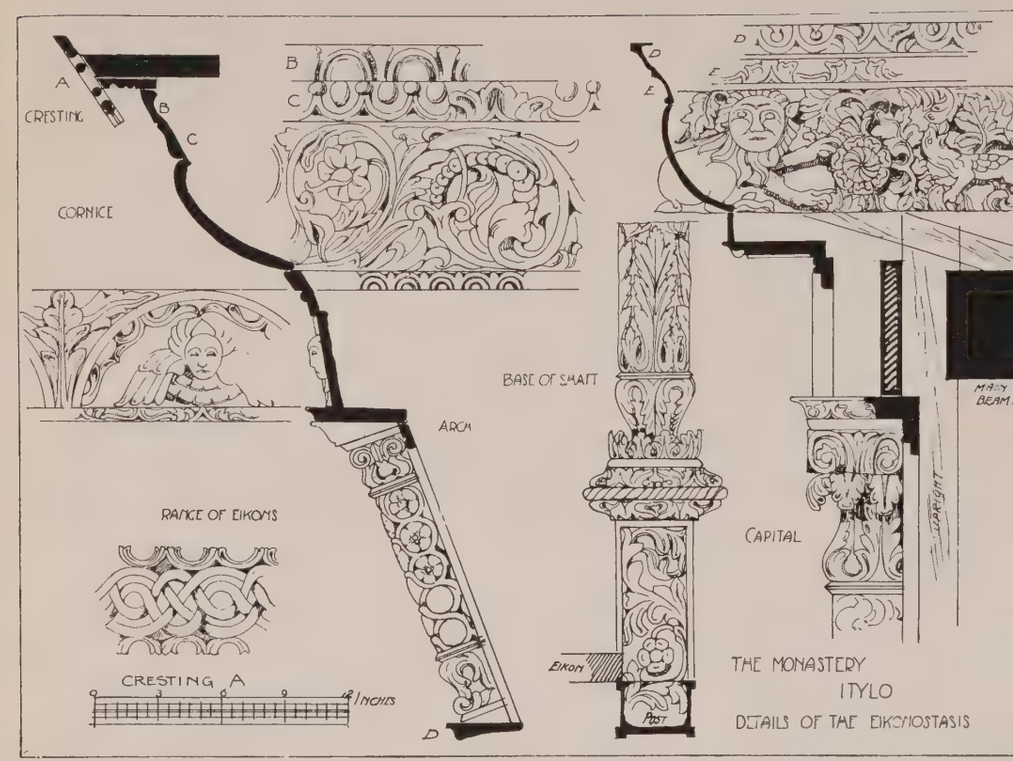
Kardamyle, Window in the Church.

Tower, Prasteion.

Church at Gounitsa, from the S.W.

The Churches of Western Mani: Views of the Churches.

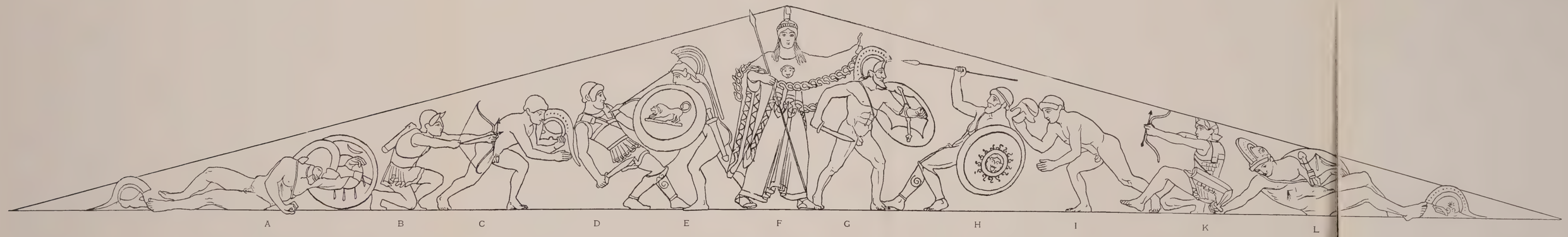




The Churches of Western Mani:

Eikonostasis in the Church of the Dekoulos Monastery.

A. Suggested Restoration of the E. Pediment.



B. Furtwängler's Restoration of the E. Pediment.

The East Pediment Sculptures of the Temple of Aphaia at Aegina.